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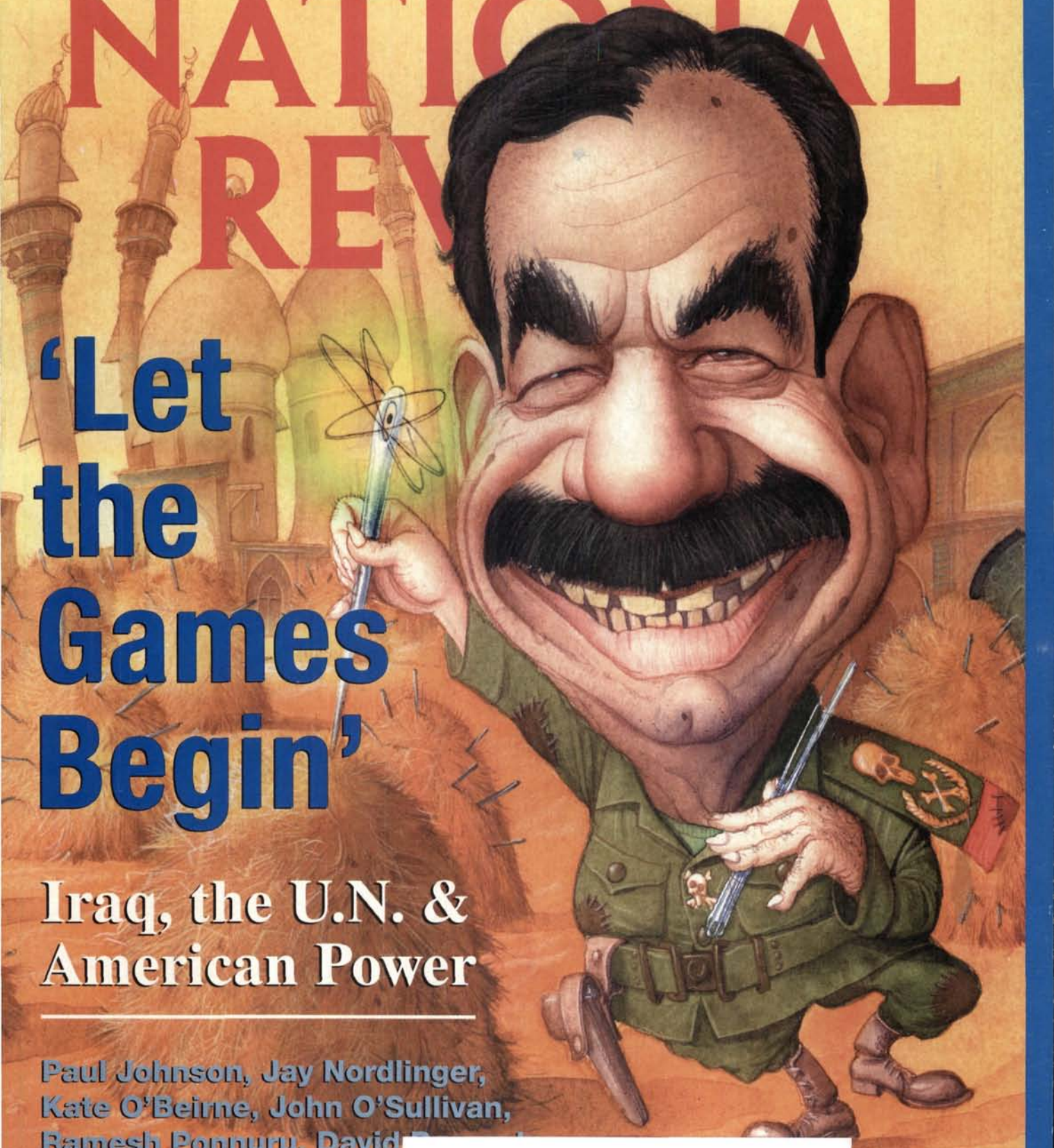

'Let the Games Begin'

Iraq, the U.N. & American Power

Paul Johnson, Jay Nordlinger, Kate O'Beirne, John O'Sullivan, Ramesh Ponnuru, David [illegible] Byron York, The Editors

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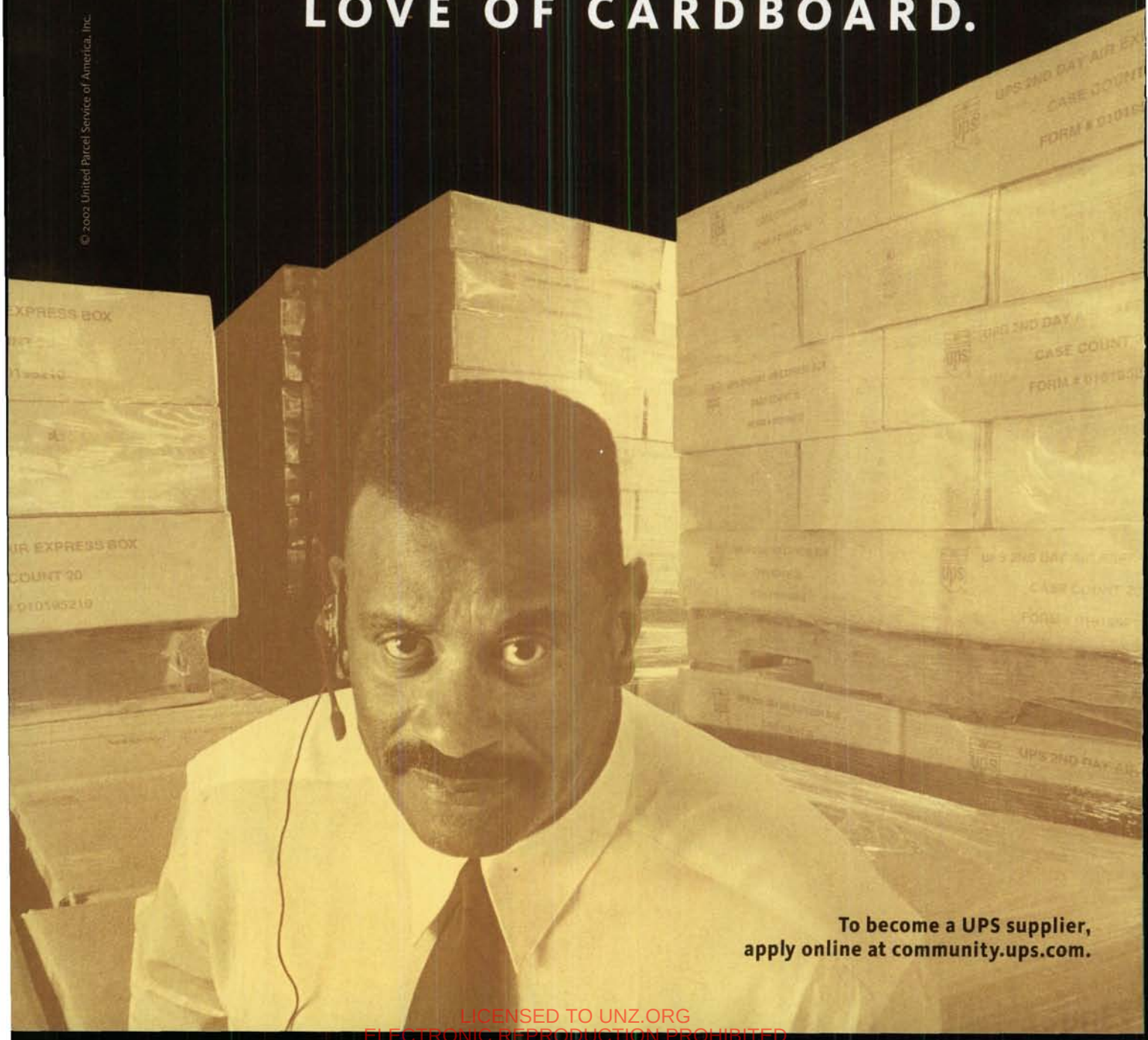

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Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
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Account Executive Aaron Cohen
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

■ LETTERS ■

A HAGELIAN DEFENSE

You owe Sen. Chuck Hagel—a man with more combat experience than your entire masthead combined—a profound apology for the gratuitous and cheap designation ("R., France") you gave him in your Aug. 12 issue. While you deplore Sen. Hagel's ad hominem remarks about Richard Perle, Mr. Perle and his followers have branded all those who disagree with them "Chamberlainites" so often that your own John O'Sullivan was prompted to defend Mr. Chamberlain's record. If Mr. Perle can't stand the heat, he should get out of the kitchen.

Sen. Hagel's point, however, is not simply a personal insult. War is a savage teacher, as Thucydides tells us. In the words of that appeasement wimp, Robert Edouard Lee, "It is well that war is so terrible, or we should grow too fond of it." When nations decide to go to war, they should do so with a sober understanding of what they are doing. The excessive rhetoric of many pro-war partisans—as in the Pentagon briefing Mr. Perle arranged by a former follower of Lyndon LaRouche, who named Egypt the "prize" of a general Mideast war—suggests a cavalier attitude that has no place in this debate. Under these circumstances, it is appropriate to question what Mr. Perle knows of the horrors of war, and what sacrifices he personally is willing to make, and it is especially so for a combat veteran like Sen. Hagel.

Having been trapped in the dust cloud on 9/11, having witnessed the deaths of thousands (including friends), I would love to get my hands on Osama bin Laden and his gang. Show me proof that Saddam Hussein was involved in the plot, and I would not favor handing him over to any international criminal court. But we need proof, not speculation. If we go to war, let us do so with real, not Dutch, courage.

Paul Windels III
New York, N.Y.

THE EDITORS REPLY: *The question of whether* NR *should apologize to Chuck Hagel is fraught with difficulties and possible unintended consequences. Yes, Hagel's staff might initially cheer such an apology. But what would be the long-term consequences? Would they come to expect apologies for any critical reference to their boss in any publication? These are questions to which* NR *does not now have answers, but feels obligated to ask. Also,* NR *would never "go it alone" on an apology. We would first have to consult with our allied magazines. Will* The American Spectator, The Weekly Standard, The American Enterprise, *et al. back us on an apology? Let's find out before doing anything precipitous. Finally, these sorts of journalistic decisions are best left to people with journalism experience. Sure, it's easy for others to say a national magazine should make an apology —but what do they know firsthand about the burdens and challenges of editing such a magazine? So, an apology might indeed be called for once "the case" has been more thoroughly made. But for now, inaction, indecision, and empty posturing strike us as the only prudent course.*

BURNING BRIGHT

Thanks to Jay Nordlinger for his masterpiece on Tiger Woods ("Hunting Tiger," Sept. 16).

As one who caddied at the Austin Country Club in the 1930s, I am familiar with the high standards that should prevail in golf, and I certainly hope that Mr. Woods can continue his independence from and superiority over those who try to engage him in social conflict.

Frank W. George
Vestavia Hills, Ala.

Cheers for Tiger Woods, that amazing young man! It seems that while training him for a golfing career, someone forgot to teach him to hate.

Marion von Mering
New Salem, Mass.

The picture caption refers to Tiger Woods as the world's greatest athlete. Come on, Mr. Nordlinger. I can accept a certain amount of hyperbole as journalistic license, but this statement is flagrantly egregious.

Many would agree with me that golf is not a sport, but a game. Walking three and a half miles while swinging an occasional golf club does not qualify as athleticism.

Lawrence D. Bauer
Rochester, N.Y.

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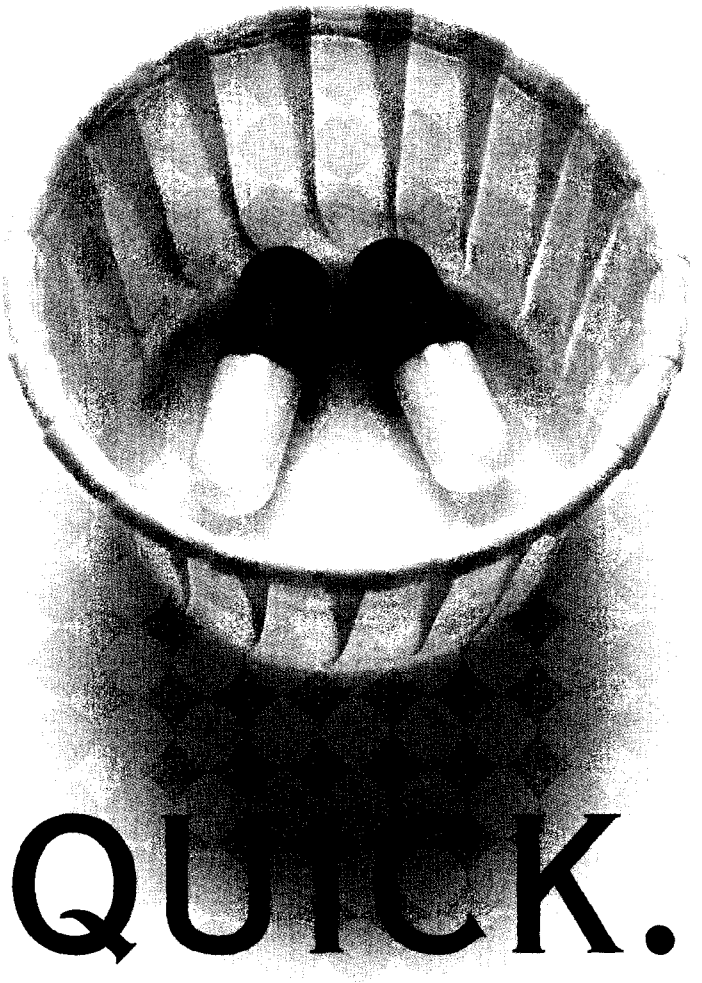

QUICK.

PICK THE CAPSULE THAT HASN'T BEEN TAMPERED WITH.

Americans depend on the safety of their prescription drugs. But with reimported drugs, there can be no guarantee. Reimportation would weaken the consumer protections that keep counterfeit and contaminated drugs from crossing our borders. U.S. health and safety officials from the Department of Health and Human Services, the Food and Drug Administration, the Customs Service, and the Drug Enforcement Agency have warned Congress that reimportation could open America's medicine cabinets to an influx of dangerous drugs. **It's time for Congress to listen.**

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■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ **Bush**, at U.N.: "**Saddam Hussein**'s regime is a grave and gathering danger. To suggest otherwise is to hope against the evidence. To assume this regime's good faith is to bet the lives of millions and the peace of the world in a reckless gamble. And this is a risk we must not take." . . . National security adviser **Condoleezza Rice** on ABC: "If the United Nations does not want to become the League of Nations, it is really going to have to act." . . . Deputy defense secretary **Paul Wolfowitz**, in *Washington Times*: "This is not something where you can wait until you have clear evidence. In fact, one of the fundamental points that Sept. 11 should have brought home to us is that you may not have a clear case after the fact, because the nature of terrorism is that it operates in the shadows, and it could be a way for a country that wants to do us harm to do it in a semianonymous way." . . . Wolfowitz, in *New York Times*: "Intentions and capabilities are the way you think about warfare. Proof beyond a reasonable doubt is the way you think about law enforcement."

■ Pentagon adviser **Richard Perle** tells inthenationalinterest.com: "If I had to guess, I would predict that Saddam ultimately would be destroyed by his own forces, whose loyalty he has good reason to question." . . . Gov. **Bill Owens** (R., Colo.): "The best way to protect our homeland is to take the fight to Saddam's homeland." . . . Sen. **Jon Kyl** (R., Ariz.): "We are in a race to the finish line with a brutal dictator: Either he will obtain a nuclear arsenal that he can use to threaten the world or we will act to stop him." . . . More Kyl, on whether Saddam Hussein will agree to real inspections: "It's probably in the when-cows-fly category of probability." . . . ABC News poll: 68 percent favor military action against Iraq, and 65 percent approve of Bush-administration handling of Iraq. . . . *Newsweek* poll: 63 percent say Bush has done "good job explaining U.S. policy toward Iraq." . . . Democratic pollster **Mark Mellman** on Iraq and upcoming elections, in *Washington Post*: "We'd rather have the newspapers filled with discussions of pensions." . . . White House economic adviser **Larry Lindsey** says war on Iraq may cost up to $200 billion, according to *Wall Street Journal*.

■ Senate majority leader **Tom Daschle** on Iraq, in *New York Times*: "It would be unfortunate if people drew . . . a premature conclusion that [Democrats] were opposed to what the president's doing." . . . Rep. **Jim McDermott** (D., Wash.) on Iraq: "I am very skeptical of this whole operation and have the feeling that it has much more to do with oil than anything else." . . . Rep. **Dennis Kucinich** (D., Ohio): "This attempt to foment a war is really against the best interests of America, it is against the spirit of the country, it is against the economic interests of the people."

"My client pleads guilty, Your Honor, but in the best possible sense of the term."

■ **Bill Clinton**, on *Late Show*: "We didn't have the option of launching an invasion of Afghanistan before Sept. 11." . . . In ABC News poll, 76 percent say Great Britain has "done enough" to support war on terror; 56 percent say France hasn't and 81 percent say Saudi Arabia hasn't. . . . Sen. **Patrick Leahy** (D., Vt.): "I think we have to ask ourselves: Is it coincidence that we're seeing such an increase in West Nile virus or is that something that's being tested as a biological weapon against us?" . . . INS says it won't meet January 30 deadline set by Congress for tracking foreign students attending school in U.S.

■ Federal Reserve chairman **Alan Greenspan** on whether Congress should suspend scheduled tax cuts: "My own view is I would prefer not." . . . White House budget director **Mitch Daniels** says Bush won't offer new tax cuts this year, in *USA Today*: "For the moment, [Bush] has not seen a measure or package of measures that meets all his tests." . . . In Field Poll, Gov. **Gray Davis** (D., Calif.) earns 49 percent disapproval rating. . . . **Julius Henson**, adviser to gubernatorial campaign of **Kathleen Kennedy Townsend** (D., Md.), on opponent, in *Washington Post*: "**Bobby Ehrlich** is a Nazi. . . . We'll define him as the Nazi that he is." (KKT fired Henson for these words.)

■ Socially conservative churches grew fastest in 1990s, according to comprehensive survey of religious congregations by Glenmary Research Center. . . . None of America's top 50 colleges and universities require study of American history for graduation, reports American Council of Trustees and Alumni, and only 10 percent require study of any history at all—down from 22 percent two years ago. . . . After $67 million marketing campaign, new $1 gold coin "has failed to achieve widespread use," says GAO. . . . ABC's **Peter Jennings**, on *Late Show*: "My mother . . . was pretty anti-American. And so I was, in some respects, raised with anti-Americanism in my blood, or in my mother's milk at least."

■ Iraqi deputy prime minister **Tariq Aziz**: "We do not have either chemical or biological weapons." . . . German justice minister **Herta Daeubler-Gmelin**: "Bush wants to divert attention from his domestic problems. It's a classic tactic. It's the one Hitler used." . . . Cuba agrees to let scholars have access to thousands of papers and documents in home of **Ernest Hemingway**, near Havana.

■ Florida resident **Dave Barry** on voting machines: "The particular model that we bought is called the 'iVotronic.' Tip for consumers: Never buy a product whose manufacturer does not understand the basic rules of capitalization." **NR**

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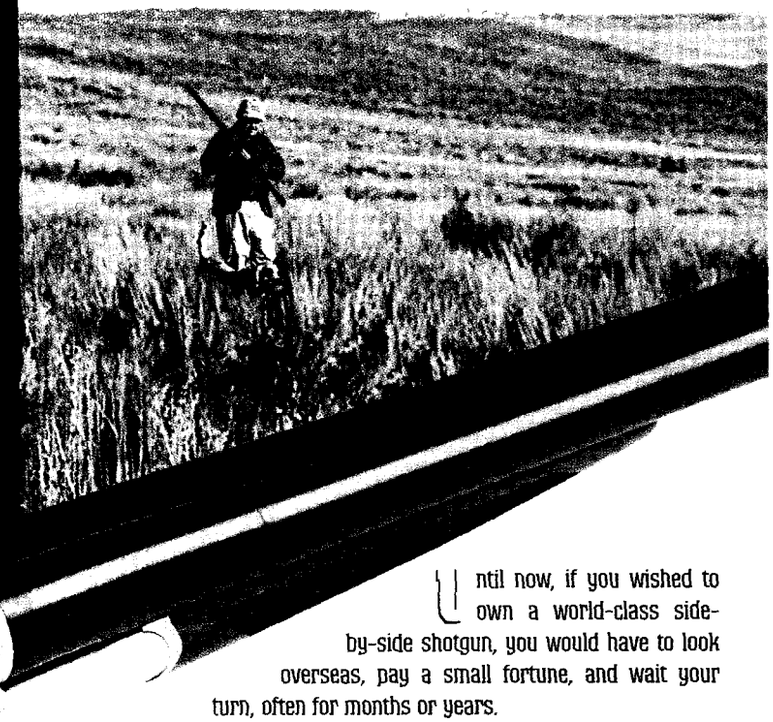

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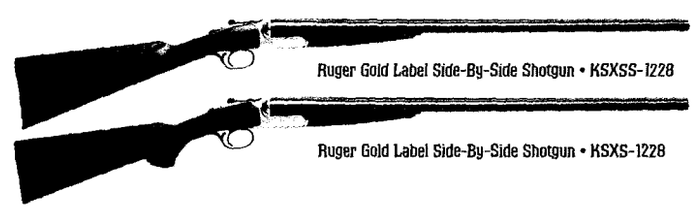
Note the clean round-action Ruger lines, derived from the proven Ruger Red Label mechanism, with its internal hammer interrupters, smooth Easy-Opening cocking system, convenient safety/barrel selector, and no exposed pins or screws in its smooth, low-profile stainless steel receiver. Anson-style selective ejectors kick out empties with authority, and a selective single trigger allows a quick choice of either barrel.

This is a true world-class shotgun, combining first-rate durability, aesthetics, and handling dynamics. It is a work of art, to be cherished during your lifetime, then passed on to another who exults in the joy of being afield on a crisp fall day.



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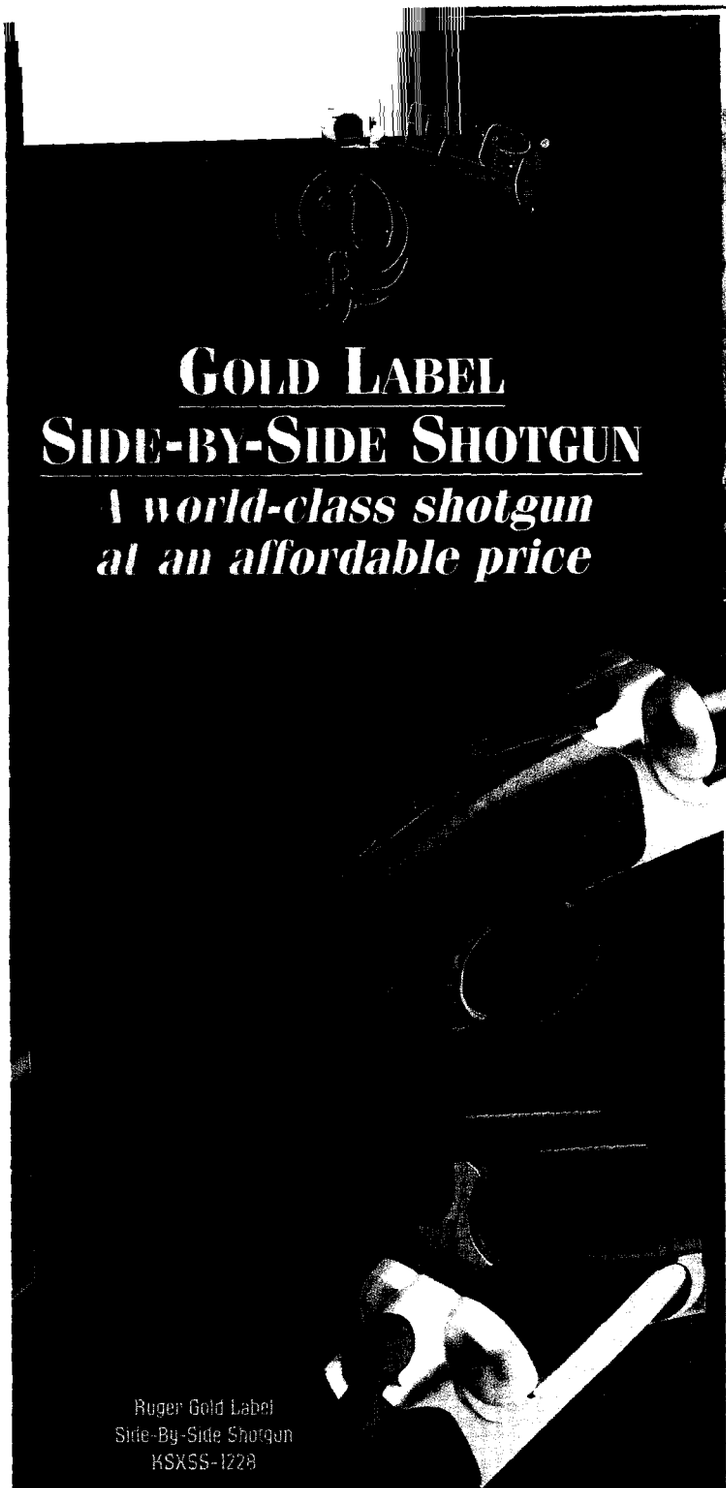

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KSXS-[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	45"	6 7/8 lbs.	Pistol	14 1/2"	1 7/8"	2 3/8"

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THE WEEK

■ In his testimony before Congress, Donald Rumsfeld noted that "there have been many books written about threats and attacks that were not anticipated." He mentioned *At Dawn We Slept*, *The Day the Admirals Slept Late*, *While England Slept* . . . how about that classic from the '90s, *While the President Slept Around?*

■ The Bush administration gave its "strong support" to an independent commission to examine intelligence failures before 9/11. They should have announced that decision on 9/12/01. Al-Qaeda was not an unknown organization. It had attacked the U.S.S. *Cole* in Yemeni waters, and bombed two embassies in Africa. It left its tentacle prints on the bombing of the Khobar barracks in Saudi Arabia, the first attack on the World Trade Towers in 1993, and a foiled plot to bomb the Los Angeles airport during millennium celebrations. As late as the summer of 2001, the FBI swept up Zacarias Moussaoui, the alleged 20th hijacker, but could not inspect his laptop. Like all bureaucracies, the CIA and the FBI have been covering their tracks and protecting their own; the Bush administration unwisely extended its protective cone of loyalty to them. Heads must roll, before more Americans are blown to bits.

■ *Wag the Dog* was the cynical and hilarious late-'90s movie in which a president, accused of propositioning an underage girl in the Oval Office, wins reelection by fighting a fictitious war in Albania. Many wondered, with some plausibility, whether Bill Clinton did some wagging of the dog. Is George W. Bush now doing the same, for the sake of November's mid-term elections? Some Democrats are openly saying what many of them seem to think. "It's absolutely clear that the administration has timed the Iraq public-relations campaign to influence the mid-term elections," said Jim Jordan, director of the Democrats' Senate campaign committee. Paul Krugman, who performs Jordan's work on the op-ed page of the *New York Times*, agreed: "It's hard not to suspect that the Bush doctrine is also a diversion." To all of which, a few points. First, the Bush administration has had real internal debates on its Iraq policy. Should these debates have been stifled or cut short? Throughout the summer, Democrats called for debates to be held in Congress and throughout the nation. The administration is participating in them now. It is asking for a vote of congressional support before the November elections; the administration is not likely to try to fight and rush a war before then. Prudent military planning dictates acting when the weather is best, which, in that part of the world, is winter. The administration is on track—but then, they are responsible leaders, not game-playing hacks.

■ Deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage has joined Sen. Chuck Hagel (R., France) in using his status as a war veteran to moralize against toppling Saddam Hussein: "Doesn't it tell you something that the two relative doves [his immediate boss, Colin Powell, and himself] . . . are the two that have seen combat?" This is an undemocratic sentiment no matter when it's offered—should only farmers and ex-farmers have a voice in agriculture policy?—but it's especially misplaced during a war on terrorism whose American casualties, for the most part, have been out of uniform. So too, Armitage and Hagel—who has backed off his own remark—should be careful what they wish for: If combat veterans actually had been polled on Iraq policy, the B-52s would have flown over Baghdad long ago.

■ The party controlling the White House usually faces a turnout problem during mid-term elections—the base is content with its success and doesn't perceive the need to vote. Pro-lifers in states with Senate races, however, have much to gain from casting ballots this year. The House has passed a series of worthy bills that will receive no consideration in the Senate as long as Tom Daschle is majority leader: a new partial-birth-abortion ban, a prohibition on helping minors cross state lines for abortions, a conscience clause that allows hospital personnel not to participate in abortion procedures, a total ban on cloning, and adoption tax credits. November 5 is hardly a day for complacency.

■ California passed a law allowing the destruction of human embryos, including cloned human embryos, in order to get their stem cells for research purposes. The need for the law is not apparent. Neither federal nor previous state law prohibited embryonic stem-cell research. All President Bush did last year was to set some restrictions on *federal funding* for such research. If the federal government bans cloning, as we hope it will, California's law to the contrary will be moot. Gov. Gray Davis and the state legislature have merely made a statement of immoral principle.

■ Al-Qaeda is definitely on the run. Not only are they starting to consort with women—meaning, in their terror work, not just in their time off at strip clubs—they are beginning to team up with organized crime. As a reporter in the *Financial Times* put it, "Any principled aversion to criminality is expected to diminish. . . . " Yes, that aversion to criminality—principled aversion!—is a sad thing to see go.

■ Yasser Arafat runs one of the world's strangest entities, a Lilliputian tyranny known as the Palestine Authority. It has a Legislative Council, a quasi-parliament that rarely meets and

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Improving Access to Innovative Medicines

by Henry A. McKinnell, Jr., Ph.D.

A world of ideas on public policy.

Trends of the past few years have drawn a great deal of attention to the research-based pharmaceutical industry, both positive and negative. On the positive side, the discovery of breakthrough medicines is making it possible to effectively treat an ever-wider range of health conditions. Increasingly, the substitution of new therapies for less effective and more invasive treatments *reduces the cost of being healthy* to individuals, to healthcare systems, and to society. As a result of advances in pharmaceutical therapy, people have choices and opportunities for healthy living that were previously unavailable.

The increasing use of medicines, however, has also led to increasing concerns about the affordability of new treatments. The growth in *spending* on prescription drugs has often been mistaken for growth in prescription *prices*. For the most part, spending has risen not because of rising prices but because the quantity of medicines people use has increased substantially. Furthermore, as advances in science such as the decoding of the Human Genome lead to further discoveries, and as the world's population ages, pressure for even greater use of medicines is likely to continue. A key challenge of the future will be to assure continued progress in discovering treatments for disease, while at the same time assuring access to needed medicines.

As the world's leading pharmaceutical research company, Pfizer takes a serious interest in these issues. We are concerned for the uninsured and those who cannot afford the medicine they need. We believe that the affordability of medicines must be addressed in a way that will allow people access to needed medicines while at the same time maintaining the incentive to search for new and better treatments and cures. While these issues are appropriately addressed by society at large, we recognize that we have a role to play as well.

Pfizer believes that people who need medicines should be able to obtain them, and we believe that a variety of creative public policies and private approaches can improve access without stifling innovation

Pfizer has a history of introducing our valuable new medicines at reasonable prices and of implementing only modest annual price increases. Over the past decade, after accounting for discounts to federal government buyers and Medicaid, Pfizer's annual price increases in the United States have averaged less than the annual rate of inflation as measured by the Consumer Price Index. Furthermore, in our global pharmaceuticals business, price change has on average been responsible for only a 1.2% increase in our annual revenues over the past five years. Volume growth has been substantially larger, underscoring the fact that what we have seen in the past few years is an explosion in the use of valuable medicines rather than in their prices.

Pfizer also has a strong tradition of providing our medicines to those with the greatest need. Our *Sharing the Care* and patient assistance programs provide our medicines at no charge to more than a million patients in the U.S. each year. Internationally, we are providing medicine, logistical support, medical expertise and training to address the critical healthcare needs of people in developing countries. And until a policy solution is enacted to address the need for improved coverage for seniors, we have established the *Pfizer for Living Share Card*, which is designed to help low-income U.S. Medicare beneficiaries who lack drug coverage. Patients in the U.S. whose income is at or below twice the federal poverty level may receive one-month prescriptions of most of Pfizer's medicines for only $15. Further information about this program can be obtained by calling, toll free, (800) 717-6005 or on the Internet at www.pfizerforliving.com. Although we recognize that this program does not provide a complete solution to the problem of inadequate coverage, we believe it is a promising model and we applaud other companies who have joined us in establishing similar programs.

We believe that people who need medicines should be able to obtain them, and we believe that a variety of creative public policies and private approaches can *improve* access without *stifling* innovation. However, finding these solutions will require new thinking and new approaches. We are committed to participating not only in the search for cures, but also in the search for policy solutions on which the health of current and future generations depends.

Henry A. McKinnell, Jr., Ph.D. is chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Pfizer Inc.

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then mostly for rubber-stamping what Arafat wants. But this cozy little council has staged a mini-coup. Meeting after months in abeyance, the members did the unprecedented thing of heckling Arafat, and then forcing the resignation of his so-called cabinet, and insisting on reform. Terrorism has led them to financial, political, and moral bankruptcy, and they've had enough of it. Abdel Razak Yehiyeh, the Palestinian interior minister, has denounced suicide bombers, and there's a move to make him prime minister—which would push Arafat aside and maybe out. The Israelis have also had enough of it. For the second time recently, Israeli tanks are ringing Arafat's headquarters in Ramallah on the West Bank. One aim is to capture known terrorists sheltering there, but another is to give Arafat's would-be successors the hint that it's time to get their act together. In addition to Abdel Razak Yehiyeh, a number of younger men are able and willing to lead Palestinians out of the dead-end where Arafat has dumped them. This cat has already lost eight lives, and the ninth is looking terminal.

■ One of the slain demons of Russia's past has been resurrected and invited back into Moscow by the ex-Communist mayor. The statue of "Iron Felix" Dzerzhinsky, Lenin's henchman and founder of the Cheka (later the KGB), will return to Lubyanka Square in the capital city. Dzerzhinsky orchestrated the Red Terror, the campaign of mass arrests and executions that strengthened the Bolsheviks' grip on power between 1917 and 1923. In one of the great symbolic acts of the fall of Communism, thousands of Russians gathered on an August night in 1991 to cheer the toppling of the 40-foot-tall, 14-ton bronze statue. Robert Conquest, the indispensable historian on the subject, has estimated that 500,000 people were killed under Dzerzhinsky's orders, and many more terrorized. This great evil is outweighed, however, by the progress he achieved in the realm of homelessness and vagrancy, according to Yuri Luzhkov, Moscow's mayor: "If we put on the scales all the things this man has done, the good will prevail."

■ In 1984, Ronald Reagan did a bracing, shocking, wonderful thing: He withdrew the United States from UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. It was one of the dozens of smallish moves that Reagan made to turn the tide in the Cold War—to demonstrate that the United States was a different kind of country, under his leadership. UNESCO epitomized everything that was wrong with the U.N. and international institutions in general. It was obnoxiously Marxist and appallingly wasteful. The United States was providing a quarter of its budget, and Reagan said, "Sorry, no." Later, our diplomat and general Vernon Walters liked to remark that UNESCO, under its then-boss Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, a Senegalese, was spending 80 percent of its budget in Paris (where it was headquartered), and most of it in the 16th *arrondissement* (the ritziest). Reagan upended a kind of Brezhnev Doctrine in international institutions: They stay forever, they never change (except to bloat), and, even if you grouse, you can never get out. Margaret Thatcher's Britain got out, too; London rejoined in 1997. Now, 18 years after Ronald Reagan's audacious move, President George W. Bush has rejoined, commenting—correctly, it would appear—that the organization has reformed and is now actually capable of doing worthwhile work. Good. But don't forget: Without Reagan's action, nothing would ever have changed. About how many things can we say that!

■ Maurice Papon is one of the men who made the Holocaust possible. As a French official from 1942 to 1944, he was responsible for sending to their deaths in Auschwitz the Jews of Bordeaux, more than 1,500 in all, including 220 children. German records pay tribute to his conscientious work. After the war, the families of the murdered Jews had a long and frustrating battle to bring him to justice, because he used every legal trick and pulled every political string. Promoted to police chief of Paris, and a minister under President Giscard d'Estaing, he had friends in high places. In 1998 he was at last sentenced to ten years in prison for crimes against humanity, one of the few Frenchman ever found guilty of such a charge. Vehemently he always refuses to express remorse. Suddenly he's been released by a special appeals court on the grounds that he's old and ill. A few bystanders were there to shout "Assassin" as he walked out of La Santé prison with a smirk on his face, and was driven home to his elegant villa outside Paris. The release, Papon's lawyers are claiming, is a victory and a vindication. The rest of us observe that the French idea of justice is to have this Nazi collaborator and criminal serve less than one day in prison for every man, woman, and child whose death he authorized.

■ French novelist Michel Houellebecq (pronounced "Wellbeck") has gone on trial in Paris, to answer charges of "incitement to religious and racial hatred." These charges arose from an interview with a literary magazine, in which he is reported to have said that "Islam is the most stupid religion in the world." Four Muslim organizations brought suit against him. With that tardy approach to real—that is to say, French—literary culture so typical of philistine America, NATIONAL REVIEW is familiar with only the second of M. Houellebecq's three novels, titled *The Elementary Particles*: the story of a molecular biologist whose work leads to the abolition of sex and death, narrated with much eroticism of a largely anonymous sort, a dose of pop science, and a sprinkling of philosophy. The author has also written several books of poetry, and a biography of the American gothic writer and misanthrope H. P. Lovecraft (one of whose stories opens with the arresting observation that: "Life is a hideous thing.") It is plain that M. Houellebecq dislikes organized religion, New Age flapdoodle, much of modern life, and most of the human race. None of that ought to be cause for prosecution in a free country, and the bringing of this action shames France. We do not doubt that it makes Muslims angry to hear rude remarks about their religion; but Frenchmen have been saying rude things about religion since the time of Voltaire, and anyone who does not like that aspect of the

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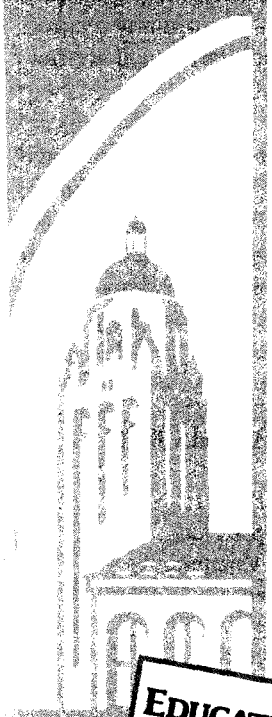
The Tests We Need

Herbert J. Walberg is a distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution, member of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education, and University Scholar and emeritus research professor of education and psychology at the University of Illinois at Chicago.



State legislatures have begun requiring the development of achievement tests and standards for K–12 schools. The new federal act titled No Child Left Behind requires state participation in an ambitious uniform testing system for the nation. For several reasons, such testing may be worthwhile if done right.

First, we need to know how our students compare with those in other countries. The 1983 report *A Nation at Risk* began shifting policymakers' and the public's concerns to student achievement. The report showed that American students lagged behind those in other countries and argued that the best jobs, including those in the industries of greatest growth, required general knowledge, language mastery, and mathematical, scientific, and technical skills. In addition, voting, serving on juries, and other forms of citizenship require such knowledge and skills, as well as mastery of history and civics.

Despite many reforms and substantially increased spending, our schools are doing no better than they were in 1983. Even with our high per-student spending (compared to the rest of the industrialized world), the longer U.S. students are in school, the farther behind they fall. If our students are to meet world standards, we need to measure their progress and find out what works best. Reading achievement tests, for example, enabled the National Reading Panel to conclude that phonics instruction, though insufficiently used in schools, helps provide young students with a solid foundation for acquiring reading skills.

Second, systematic testing provides useful information. School boards should hold educators accountable for the results they produce; they should examine educators' progress compared to that of others in attaining well-defined achievement standards. When board members concentrate on initiating programs and practices, they may lose their objectivity when evaluating educators' progress in attaining results.

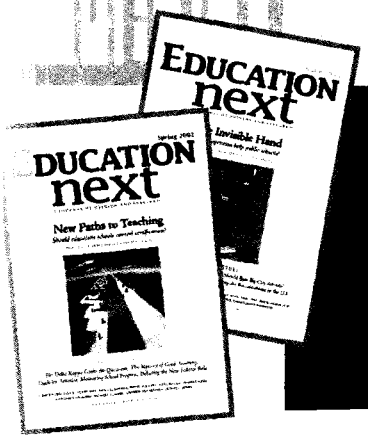
Moreover, frequent examinations help provide teachers with information about what students are learning. Based on this knowledge, teachers need to plan their lessons accordingly. Regular testing encourages students to be prepared for classes and can be a source of learning; requiring essays and providing feedback, for example, help students not only comprehend the subject matter but also become better writers.

Third, national surveys indicate that educators are much less enthusiastic about tests than citizens, parents, and even students. **Few professionals or other workers want to be held accountable; but, in education, our nation's welfare and students' development are at stake.** Tests help boards and educators concentrate on their primary responsibility, which is learning. Regrettably, boards and educators have taken on responsibilities, such as driver education, for which they are not chiefly responsible and for which they may lack competence. Tests help teachers concentrate on what parents and the public expect children to accomplish. For children in poverty and related conditions, school provides the best opportunity to rise above their circumstances.

Finally, tests are cheap. Harvard economist Caroline Hoxby estimates that we annually spend $4.96 per pupil on commercial tests and from $1.79 to $34.02 on state tests—tiny fractions of average per-student spending of $8,157. At such costs, few activities can produce such big benefits for our students and our nation.

— *Herbert J. Walberg*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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Gallic character should find some other country to live in.

■ Great artists have their own way of looking at things, of course. A case in point: Britain's Damien Hirst, who, when asked by BBC News for a comment on the anniversary of the September 11 attacks, had this to say about the terrorists: "You've got to hand it to them on some level, because they've achieved something which nobody would have ever thought possible, especially to a country as big as America." He added that the hijackers had created a "visually stunning" work of art. Mr. Hirst's past work has featured a dead shark in a tank of formaldehyde, the pickled, dismembered corpses of farm animals, and white canvases covered with equal-sized colored dots. In 1995 he won the prestigious Turner prize for exhibiting a rotting cow's head, complete with maggots and an electric "bug zapper" to catch the emerging flies as they hatched. Mr. Hirst is 37.

■ The humble air gun provides much harmless pleasure to its aficionados, and is the basis of no fewer than five Olympic shooting events. For youngsters, properly supervised, air guns offer a good introduction to the handling of genuine weapons. In Britain, where private ownership of pretty much any kind of real firearm is now unlawful, the anti-gun lobbies are turning their attention to air guns. An organization called SWAAT (Survivors War Against Airgun Terror) is lobbying Parliament on the issue. In the northern city of Middlesborough, an air-gun amnesty netted 40 guns; we mention this only to draw attention to the name of the amnesty's organizer, one Ed Chicken. Supposing SWAAT and Mr. Chicken attain their ends, what will they mobilize against next? BB guns, presumably; then bows and arrows, slingshots, rubber bands, water pistols . . . until Britain is projectile-free and perfectly, perfectly safe.

■ Harvard president Larry Summers, who welcomed ROTC to campus and drove Cornel West off it by questioning his softball grading, took another bull by the horns in a prayer address at Memorial Church on the first day of classes. His topic was anti-Semitism, whose upsurge he surveyed worldwide, and also at home. Student organizations "on this and other campuses" have raised money for groups that support terror in Israel; Harvard has been called upon "to single out Israel among all nations as the lone country where it is inappropriate for any part of the university endowment to be invested." Summers's second point is too sweepingly stated: Is it wrong to campaign against one perceived ill unless one campaigns against all ills? Still the fact remains that the anti-Israel bandwagon is driven mostly by animus, not wrong-headed concern for justice. Summers's first point is simple common sense, perhaps more: Should any of the student organizations he referred to be reported to the FBI? Summers's conclusion was measured, and disturbing. "I have always . . . been put off by those who heard the sound of breaking glass in every insult or slight, and conjured up images of Hitler's Kristallnacht at any disagreement with Israel. Such views have always seemed to me alarmist if not slightly hysterical. But I have to say that while they still seem to me unwarranted, they seem rather less alarmist in the world of today than they did a year ago."

■ Augusta National, the club which holds the Masters golf tournament, has taken a remarkable stand: It is refusing to cave in to pressure put on it by a group calling itself the National Council of Women's Organizations (NCWO). The NCWO is crusading against the club because it has not yet admitted a woman member. Women can play there: They played more than 1,000 rounds last year. But so far there are no women members. The club has said that it will admit women on its own "timetable" and not at "the point of a bayonet." The NCWO targeted commercial sponsors of the Masters. And then the club did another amazing thing: It informed those sponsors that their services, and fees, would no longer be required, that the club would air the tournament without ads, to relieve their longtime sponsors of political pressure. The head of the NCWO pronounced herself "astounded." So was most everyone else. Then the NCWO tried to get CBS, which has carried the tournament for the last 46 years, to pull out. The network said no way. The NCWO says it still has "lots of options": the harassment of the corporate employers of members, for example; the harassment of professional golfers, for another. Augusta National has taken an almost stupefyingly defiant stand. They are badly, badly out of step with the modern world, in many respects (mainly in the way they run their superlative golf tournament). Good for them.

■ The over-fastidious Jonathan Swift is supposed to have built his imaginary utopia, the Land of the Houyhnhnms, around intelligent horses because horse dung is the least offensive of all animal wastes. Be that as it may, the droppings left in the streets of Vienna by the horses that draw tourist

An Historical Analogy

The House of Saud is either at
That point when Louis got stopped flat
(The coach was loaded) near Varennes,
Or somewhat earlier, when men
From lower orders, for the sport,
Said rude things in a tennis court;
Whichever, and one could be wrong—
They may be at some sing-along
Like Antoinette's in sick Versailles—
All signs suggest the end is nigh.

—W. H. von Dreele

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carriages are sufficiently offensive to the city burgomeisters. They have proposed that the horses be diapered, to eliminate this nuisance. This suggestion has started one of those tempests in a teapot that compose practically all the news out of Austria since the end of the Habsburg imperium rendered that country perfectly insignificant. The principal opposition comes from animal-rights activists, who fear the horses will suffer "equine diaper rash." A dozen of these folk donned diapers themselves and protested outside the Hofburg Palace, while the great, stern emperors and empresses of old turned and wept in their graves.

■ François-Xavier Cardinal Nguyen Van Thuan, a little-known but heroic figure of the Cold War, died in Rome, where he had lived since the Communist government exiled him from his native Vietnam in 1991. He was 74. The cardinal was named deputy archbishop of Saigon on the eve of the city's fall to the Viet Cong in 1975. He was arrested by the Communists on his way to take up his new post, and was eventually sent to a re-education camp, where he spent 13 brutal years—nine of them in solitary confinement. While incarcerated, he wrote a series of letters smuggled out to Vietnamese Catholic communities, meditations to help them endure persecution while keeping their hearts pure of hatred and the desire for revenge. Last year, Pope John Paul II made him a cardinal, and he was mentioned as a possible successor to the pontiff. R.I.P.

■ *Partisan Review* in its glory days was an interesting example of a magazine that based itself on an impossible amalgam, but was energized by it in a sort of crazy dialectic. Founded in 1934 by William Phillips and Philip Rahv, it was deeply rooted in the tradition of immigrant Jewish Marxism. Phillips and Rahv, however, were unusual and spirited young men, and, imbued with the insurgencies of modernism in literature and the other arts, they rejected philistine Stalinism. What developed was an unstable combination of non-Stalinist socialism-communism ("Trotskyism") plus this international modernism. Phillips was the gyroscope whose common sense kept this small ship (circulation about 10,000) on a survivable course. For a considerable period, it kicked, and provided a useful venue for European writers dislocated by the apocalypse in Europe. By the 1960s, the cultural conditions that had given the journal its salience were gone. No one cared about Trotsky. Modernism was tenured. But it was fun while it lasted. *PR*'s co-founder, William Phillips, is dead at 94. R.I.P.

AT WAR

On Iraq, Right Reason

GIVE credit where it's due: Colin Powell had a point about going to the U.N. on the Iraq question. When President Bush did so, it helped change the dynamics of the debate, both domestically and internationally. But a few distinctions are in order. The U.S. should not make it its business to enforce U.N. resolutions willy-nilly. We are challenging the U.N. to live up to its resolutions only because they happen to align with important U.S. national-security interests. Bush's speech also packed a threat (one that, if the State Department had its way, would never be made): that the U.N. can go along or be left behind as the U.S. takes action in Iraq without it. The president's "unilateralism"—or leadership, to use a better term for it—is creating a practical multilateralism in accord with American interests.

So it is that the tenor of French opposition to the intervention has changed, as Paris realizes it would be better not to be left out of the post-Saddam order, especially when it comes to its oil concessions in Iraq. Russia may play ball for similar reasons. We will leave it to the shrinks to determine why American liberals consider it a mark of morality in foreign policy when that policy coincides with Russian and French strategies that are themselves arrived at for the crassest of reasons. In general, making "international opinion" the benchmark for right and wrong is a mistake, since so much of it is driven by fear, self-interest, and greed. The power of fear, for instance, is evident in Saudi Arabia's renewed interest in offering the U.S. use of its bases, as the Saudis see the U.S. shifting its friendship to the relatively benign Gulf state of Qatar (an important lesson as we begin to deal with the effects of Saudi radical evangelism: The House of Saud does respond to pressure).

Unfortunately, the attitude of many Democrats seems to be "international opinion" right or wrong. Al Gore implicitly blames the United States for the irresponsible attacks of Gerhard Schroeder on American policy. Gore is apparently not outraged by *Schroeder's* unilateralism—nakedly motivated by election politics—which says that Germany will oppose even U.N.-sanctioned action against Iraq. No: German obstructionism is America's fault. This line of argument risks returning a post-Vietnam, Blame America First taint to Democratic foreign policy, which Bill Clinton had largely effaced. A replay would be bad for the Democrats, and for the country.

Bush has not, as Gore charges, squandered the international consensus that existed after September 11. That consensus arose spontaneously in the rush of sympathy after the attacks, and would inevitably fade. Making U.S. foreign policy dependent on such uniform support would be a prescription for paralysis, since only the status quo can typically command such unanimity. And the present status quo should be unacceptable. Terrorism emanates from the Middle East for a reason: The style of politics and religion promoted by the regimes there, and the work of their security services, all lend support to anti–U.S. terrorism. Breaking up the axis of Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia is a goal central to the war on terrorism.

To insist, as Gore does, that the U.S. not do anything else until we hunt down and kill bin Laden—a goal that, for all we know, may already be accomplished—is to reduce American policy to a manhunt, perhaps one of several years' duration. Gore suggests that Bush is going after Saddam because it's easier than eliminating al-Qaeda—as

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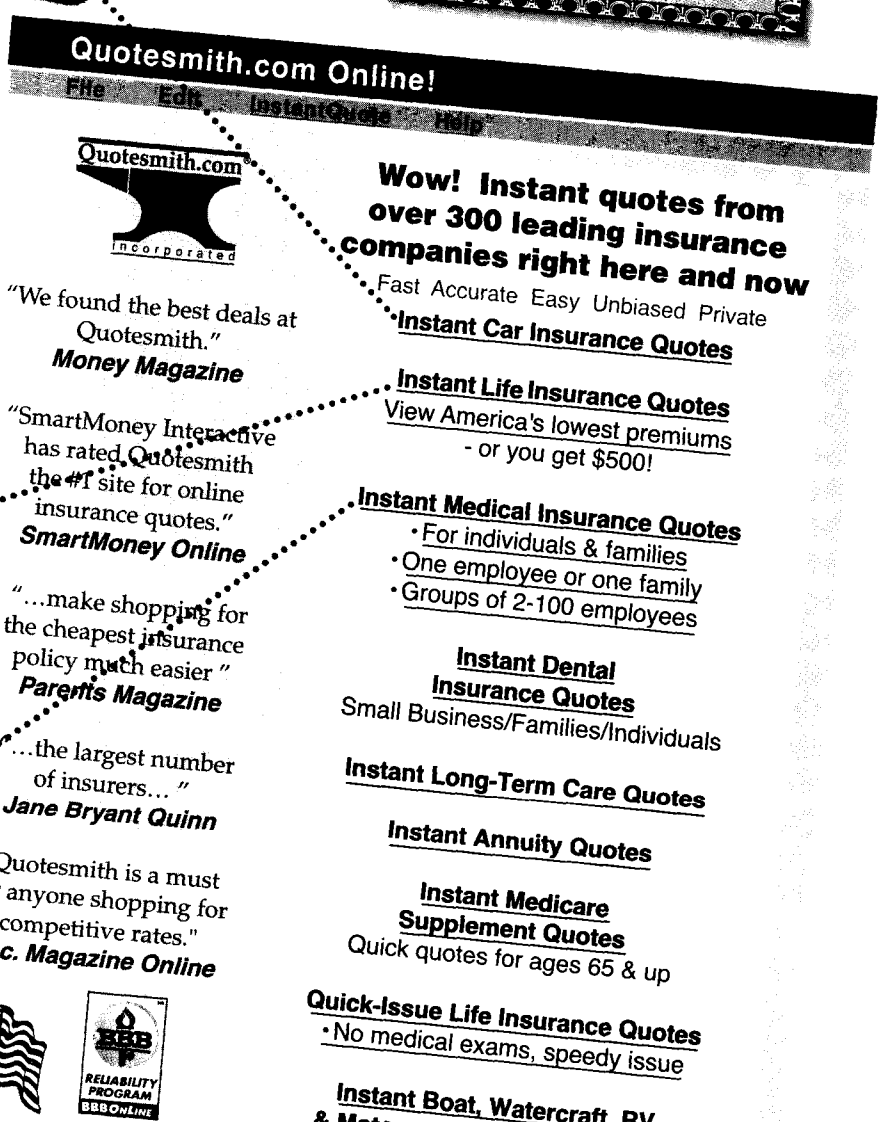
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though the ability to achieve an objective were an argument against doing so. Besides which, an invasion of Iraq is the first step toward an extremely difficult long-term goal: transforming the geopolitical balance, and the nature of politics, in the Middle East. Is *that* hard enough for Mr. Gore's taste?

Other Democrats ask what has changed in recent years with regard to Iraq. The answer is nothing. The situation is exactly the same as it was in 1998, when President Clinton and the Democratic leadership in Congress declared Saddam a threat that had to be met with military action if necessary, and Congress passed a law making regime change in Iraq the policy of the United States. All that has changed is that America now has a president—fired, to be sure, by 9/11—determined to effect that policy.

How can the Democrats be taken seriously on Iraq? One day they demand a debate on Iraq, the next day they accuse Bush of "wagging the dog" for having a debate on Iraq. One day the Democratic chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee says we should be confronting the terrorist regimes of Iran and Syria before going after Saddam. The next, Democrats (including Gore) criticize Bush's proposed Iraq resolution because it might leave open the possibility of confronting Iran and Syria. The fact is that pressure, and perhaps even military action, against those regimes may eventually be warranted. One purpose of the intervention in Iraq is to create a new international standard that such radical regimes cannot be trusted with weapons of mass destruction. As Paul Johnson points out in this issue, action against Saddam represents the civilized world's reasserting itself, and pushing back against the piratical regimes in the Middle East that have perversely been taken to be an acceptable part of the international order for 30 years.

While the U.N. can be a useful tool, it is not the same thing as the civilized world, given the nature of many of the 190 governments it includes. Kofi Annan's eager embrace of Saddam's offer of new inspections showed the U.N.'s willingness to believe bluffs and nonsense so long as it advances "peace," no matter how phony. Saddam's "unconditional" offer was conditional, and based on a lie—that Iraq has no weapons of mass destruction. As Kate O'Beirne and Byron York report in this issue, inspections are meant to be a tool to confirm the compliance of a basically honest, cooperative state. They are unsuited to the current task. The United States should ask the U.N. for a resolution saying the obvious—that Iraq is in "material breach" of a decade's worth of resolutions—and leave it at that. No further U.N. action is necessary to authorize force. If France, Russia, or China wants to veto such a resolution, and expose even more starkly the U.N.'s bankruptcy, they are more than welcome to. But the U.S. should continue to make it clear that we will act to protect our interests, with only a handful of allies if necessary.

Over the last decade, we have half-dismembered Iraq while respecting the one facet of Iraqi sovereignty that creates the problem—Saddam's tenure in power. We should remove the root of the problem, and begin the post-Saddam era. But conservatives should guard against naivety about the ease with which a liberal democracy can be installed in Iraq. Incremental improvements short of that are well worth making. Just as a non-terrorist government in Afghanistan that may eventually control the urban areas of the country is an improvement over the Taliban, a reformist authoritarianism in Iraq would be a relative boon. It would change the balance of the region, possibly reorienting it around a Turkey-Iraq-Jordan bloc and spelling the end of OPEC, the cartel that, through the Saudis, bankrolls Islamism. It wouldn't mean the end of the war on terrorism, but it would be an intermediate step toward a decent Middle East, and one that eventually is not a threat to America.

THE HOMEFRONT

Scenes from a War

In the month of the first anniversary of 9/11, Americans got to see three faces of vigilance.

On September 11 a Northwest Airlines flight from Memphis to Las Vegas was diverted to Arkansas after the crew reported suspicious behavior on the part of two passengers: South Asian men who had boarded the flight at the last minute, would not take their seats, and spent an unusual amount of time in the plane's bathroom. The explanation turned out to be innocent. The men had spent an unplanned night in Memphis, after missing a connection; they wanted to go to the bathroom to shave, which they had not been able to do in their hotel. Their unwillingness to cooperate with the stewardess nevertheless put them at legal risk.

On September 13 a longer drama unfolded in Florida after three young Middle Eastern men sped through a toll booth on I-75 in the Everglades. Police stopped the car; they already had the license-plate number because, the day before, the men had been overheard in a Georgia restaurant talking ominously about 9/11: "If people thought September 11 was something, wait till September 13." They were uncooperative when questioned. But they too turned out to be innocent of criminal intent: They were med students from Chicago, driving to Florida to fulfill a practical-studies requirement in Miami. They denied talking about 9/11, though Eunice Stone, the woman who heard and reported them, stands by her story. Stone's son said the men may have been "playing" to the restaurant crowd, perversely enacting a stereotype.

The families of the med students slipped their sense of grievance out of the entitlement holster, crying racism. Clearly all five men, in the car and on the airplane, were, in part, profiled. White or black Americans would have met a lower level of scrutiny. But then, no whites or blacks hijacked airplanes on September 11, 2001, nor do they figure heavily—*pace* John Walker Lindh—in the ranks of al-Qaeda. Northwest Airlines and Eunice Stone were right to take ethnicity into account. Circumstances (over which the five men had no control) and behavior (over which they did) completed the picture. These

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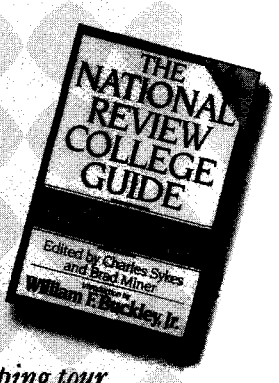

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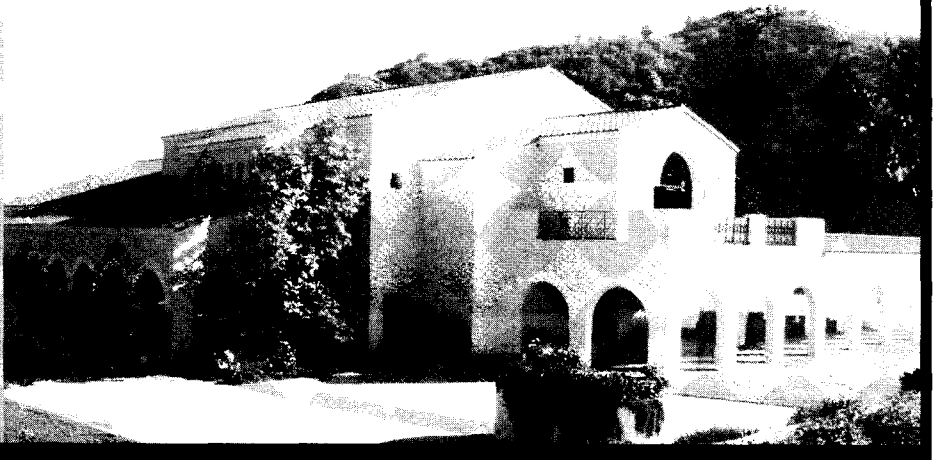

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days, one should simply comply with the requests of stewardesses and cops. To the sick-humored med students: Time to learn some new jokes, dudes.

Then, in Lackawanna, N.Y., the FBI moved in on what looked like the real thing: five men of Yemeni descent who had gone to a camp in Afghanistan for preliminary al-Qaeda training. (A sixth man was arrested in Bahrain.) The Justice Department is prosecuting them under the Antiterrorism Act of 1996, which makes it a crime to provide a designated terrorist group with "material support," which can include "personnel"—the men themselves, in their capacity as trainees. In 2000 a court ruled that "personnel" was an unconstitutionally vague item, since it "blur[red] the line between protected expression and unprotected conduct." One can say "Death to America," even if one cannot chant it during an early-morning boot-camp run. The Justice Department has appealed that decision.

The government was helped by a tip from within the community—a hopeful sign of patriotism, and the impulse to self-protection. May there be more such. There must be many tips in a fight against an enemy who employs sleeper cells in hermetic ethnic communities. There will be many interrogations, not all of them on target. The peaceful and the patriotic must bear with it, and do their best to help.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Memo to NR Lexicographers:

We are swamped by your resourceful answers to the question posed by Mr. John Stephenson Jr. in the Sept. 2 issue, as well as other questions touched on. In that issue, we published a small chart submitted by Mr. Loring Emery, but some questions remained.

A short answer was given by Fred Richman of Boca Raton, Fla., who wrote, "I would guess that the letter that looks sort of like a Greek beta is a German double s, the one character that carried over from the old orthography. I saw it very recently in an article in English by a German who used it to spell 'Gauss.'" And Gary Gabbard of Independence, Mo., elaborated that "It is pronounced 'ess-zett,' with the 'z' pronounced like the 'ts' in rats."

We are indebted to others who answered, explained, improvised, and left us with the most valuable repository on the subject this side of the British Museum.

Thanks to: Adel Sanchez of Arlington, Va., Horst Brakel (yet again) of New York, N.Y., Stephen Andrew of Pasadena, Calif., Donald Poundstone of Temecula, Calif., William Hardin of San Diego, Calif., Brian Bruckno of Waynesboro, Va., László Vései of Niles, Mich., Andrew Love of Columbia, Md., Roger Jones of Broomall, Pa., Charlotte Anderson of Wayne, Pa., James Walsh and Zoe Lang, both of Cambridge, Mass., Mark Lee of Austin, Tex. (who came to his knowledge "through my love of Mahler's 8th Symphony, the second movement of which is a setting, slightly abridged, of the last scene of Part 2 of Goethe's *Faust*"), Stanley Taylor of Greenfield, Mass., Aaron Doyle of East Hartford, Conn., Raymond Heisler of Chicago, Ill., Lewis Hendrixson of Crofton, Md., Yolanda Thomas of Harper Woods, Mich., Soren Laursen of Allendale, N.J., Col. Robert Powers of Shreveport, La., William Muff of San Rafael, Calif., Timothy Albers of Baldwyn, Miss., Robert Reece of Forest Grove, Ore., Thomas Comerford of Dallas, Tex., Dr. K. A. Skapa of Denver, Colo., G. J. Szemler of Lake Bluff, Ill., David Ziegler of Arlington, Va., Michael Flanagan of Evergreen, Colo., John Braden of Fremont, Mich., John Williston of Westminster, Calif., Prof. James Cargal of Montgomery, Ala., Carroll Treacy of Naperville, Ill., Bruce Holder of Boulder, Colo., Garth Peterson of Sioux Falls, S.D., and the Rev. Dr. Paul Lehninger of Milwaukee, Wis.

Now these letters make up a glossary on the subject of computers and special orthographic demands so interesting and revealing that we will keep them in a special folder. If anyone wants copies of the lot, please send $25 toward the cost of copying and mailing. Send more, if you like.

We hope your generosity here is commensurate with your intellectual and orthographic curiosity.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Quite recently I received your letter to me beginning "Dear Loyal NR Reader." I am making a contribution to the cause you described (buying a subscription to NR for a needy college student).

I was surprised to see: "You will be playing *an* vital part." It just doesn't sound right to me. Am I wrong?

I got my start in a one-room school in Orange County, N.Y., a long time ago. I'll be 83 years young in November. My cup is half full!

Philip Wright
Wallingford, Conn.

Dear Mr. Wright: Pardon the typo, and thanks for your generosity aimed at young readers of NR.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Years ago you used an elegant term (I can't remember if it was in Latin or not) to describe the situation in which, by a seeming compliment, an individual is actually discredited. You gave an amusing example, which I also forget. I guess the closest approximation to the term would be "a left-handed compliment." If you know what I'm talking about, please refresh my memory.

Warren R. Nickerson, M.D.
Cotuit, Mass.

Dear Dr. Nickerson: The word is *paralepsis*.
Cordially,

—WFB

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■ CALIFORNIA ■

Bill Simon: En Route to Sacramento

Gunning for the governorship

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

BILL SIMON looks a little like Christopher Reeve when he was doing Superman, wearing those horn-rimmed glasses which were supposed to make him appear pedestrian. Of course if you want to pass by unnoticed, which Superman wanted to do when he wasn't on a tear, you don't run for governor of California, a state that specializes in high dramatic dress, and California is not going to find that in William E. Simon Jr., a candidate without a lot of plumage.

On the other hand, it hasn't found anything striking in Gray Davis, other than his high spending. But Californians at large don't seem to have noticed that, or anything else inordinate in government. Simon is of course trying to do something about that.

On a recent Saturday, at an evening with friends and backers in the Sacramento area, the candidate was reminded that in the last ten years, California has graduated from 39th to 44th on the list of states engaged in what amounts to philanthropy to other states. Only six states contribute a higher percentage of taxes to the federal government, measured against returns. For every dollar Californians remit to Washington, Californians get back 82 cents. That would be okay if California were all Bill Gates, but of course he lives elsewhere and California is in very bad economic shape. Gov. Davis has increased spending by 39 percent more than would simply keep pace with inflation and population. A lot of Californians are unaware of this—and apparently unaware that the next governor is going to have to find a way to raise $27 billion, or to reduce spending by that much.

Luke Frazza/Agence France Presse

Bill Simon Jr., walking in Reagan's footsteps

Here are some nice figures to store in your statistics bank. The State of California spends per year just about $100 billion. Its GDP is $1.3 trillion. Pre-Gray, California's income was the fifth largest of any political unit in the world (after the U.S., Japan, Germany, and Britain). France has edged up, and California down. This may have something to do with the quality of public education in California, which is the 46th worst in the nation. California has the most Nobel Prize winners and the most illiteracy, but Gray Davis doesn't talk about that; he is comfortable with the routine lament over the ratio of poor to non-poor.

I have a special friend who has a special son, whose balmy disposition makes Perry Como sound like a tiger. Tim Draper did everything a 40-year-old could do to liberate the public-education system in California from the teachers unions, which underwrite the poor school standards. The bad news is that the plebiscite, which would have returned power to parents, lost in 2000 by two to one, in part because the unions control even the parent-teacher associations. Tim Draper certainly did what he could—he paid out *$27 million* to back the proposition. It must be true hell to lose that much money on a lost political cause, but Tim Draper put it this way to his father: "If I had cashed all those securities in today, Dad, I'd have netted only two million dollars." That's Pangloss you just heard, and Bill Simon appears capable of that kind of cheerful stoicism. He has contributed $5 million of his own to his campaign and is self-scheduled to contribute $4 million more. That isn't a great deal of money, up against what is being spent by Gov. Davis: He has $27 million standing by and has been spending about $3 million per week elaborating on the disqualifications of Bill Simon.

These require a lot of ingenuity. What would be expected of a candidate for governor of California? Simon, a graduate of Williams College, was a vigorous prosecutor who served under Rudy Giuliani in New York. In business, he has been successful in several enterprises, as you certainly have to be to come up with $9 million to forward your political ideals. For a while, Gov. Davis tried to concentrate public attention on an adverse civil judgment against Simon, a jury having found for the plaintiff, who happened to be out of jail when he launched his complaint against Simon, a business partner. The finding was as ludicrous as that which found O. J. Simpson blameless, and a couple of weeks ago a calm and scholarly judge threw the verdict out of court. There was never in the history of grief anyone more disappointed than Gray Davis when he learned that the Republican running for governor had been exonerated. Davis's stamina in broad-

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casting the word that Simon was nothing more than a representative of crooked corporate America had picked up so much steam, he had a hard time rescheduling booked TV spots, and has now had to find other reasons to warn Californians against voting for someone who believes the same kind of thing Ronald Reagan believed in.

Davis hasn't had much luck, in that his popularity rating remains remarkably low: Even $30 million later, it is still only 51 percent. On the other hand, Simon hasn't done very much better. But he suffered six whole weeks from the O.J. jury verdict, during which California backers went solidly to sleep. The challenge is to rouse them now, because Bill Simon has only pennies in the political bank, and campaigns cost a lot of money, in the state that nudges up with France in spending.

■

Simon will remind you that at the equivalent point in Reagan's campaign, His Greatness was behind even further.

■

LAST weekend there was much brightness in the Simon camp.

The lead by Democrat Davis is usually reported at 7 percent. There are Simon sources who say it is reduced to 4 percent. And Bill will remind you, driving back from the fundraiser, that at the equivalent point in Reagan's campaign for governor, His Greatness was behind even further, and ended by winning with 1 million votes. It is late, after a full day, but he talks with enthusiasm, and his finance chairman, Frank Baxter, in the back seat, echoes it, but acknowledges that a great deal depends on cranking up the fundraising.

Is there anything I can do? his guest asks.

I can pass the word along, herewith. Arriving at the hotel after ten, the Candidate said he was going to stop by and get some ice cream. "I missed dessert." He deserves a square meal, and California is being given the opportunity to spread that one around. **NR**

■ **AT WAR** ■

Leviathan to the Rescue

The responsibility of the United States of America

PAUL JOHNSON

THE approaching war with Iraq is essentially a 21st-century problem. Strictly speaking, it has no precedent in history, and in terms of presidential power and national sovereignty, Mr. Bush is walking into unknown territory. By comparison, the Gulf War of the 1990s was a straightforward, conventional case of unprovoked aggression, like Germany's invasion of Belgium in 1914 and Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

Yet I do not think Mr. Bush need hesitate to change the Iraq regime by force. Nor will he. He is quite clear on what he has to do. He can occupy Iraq by force under Security Council Resolution 678 of November 1990 and Number 687 of April 1991. To get further and explicit authorization from the U.N. is courteous but superfluous, and justified only by the need to line up as many allies as possible.

Moreover, Mr. Bush, and the United States, are lawfully empowered to take action against Iraq by Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, which states plainly that nothing in the charter "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense . . . until the Security Council has taken [the] measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." It is the last two words which are crucial. A year ago, the U.S. was subjected to an unprovoked attack of an unprecedented kind, which not only killed 3,000 people and destroyed much of the country's main financial district but was designed also to destroy America's legislative body and/or its executive, and its main defense headquarters. The scale of the attack, and the presumption that it would be followed by others, gave the U.S. the right, under Article 51, to punish the aggressors and to take all necessary steps to ensure its future security by destroying the source of their power, present and future.

Hence the occupation and regime-change in Afghanistan was merely the first move. The ferocity of the 11 September assault, designed to kill the maximum number of people and demolish the heart of America's government and financial strength, made it obvious that its perpetrators would use any and all weapons of mass destruction the moment they acquired them. Hence, to ensure its security, the U.S. is plainly entitled, under Article 51, to prevent this from happening.

There are two countries where sympathy for Moslem fundamentalist terrorists makes the possibility of supplying mass-destruction weapons likely. Pakistan already has a small arsenal of nuclear bombs. Mr. Bush has now satisfied himself that the present regime there will not supply them to terrorists and will prevent their theft. He would have an absolute right to prevent any change of regime, or indeed government, in Pakistan, if the consequences were likely to increase the risk of nuclear weapons' falling into terrorist hands. Granted Pakistan's instability and fragility, drastic steps such as the destruction of its nuclear stockpiles may still be necessary. Indeed the only long-term solution, desirable in itself, is the reunification of the Indian subcontinent, which ought to be an object of Western policy.

Iraq's consistent sympathy and active support for terrorist movements, and the regime's record of unprovoked aggression, make us presume that its consistent efforts to make a wide range of mass-killer weapons will end in their use, against either the U.S. or Israel or both. Whether the regime plans to use them itself or supply them to terrorists is a detail. It is clear that the only safety for the U.S. is to ensure that the program is scrapped once and for all, and the experience of the past eleven years shows that this can be achieved only by changing the regime. Thus a U.S.-led invasion having this object is lawful under Article 51 and a country's inherent right of self-defense.

What applies on the international plane applies a priori on the domestic one. It will be surprising if any substantial segment of opinion, inside or outside Congress, op-

Mr. Johnson, the British journalist and historian, is the author, most recently, of *Napoleon*.

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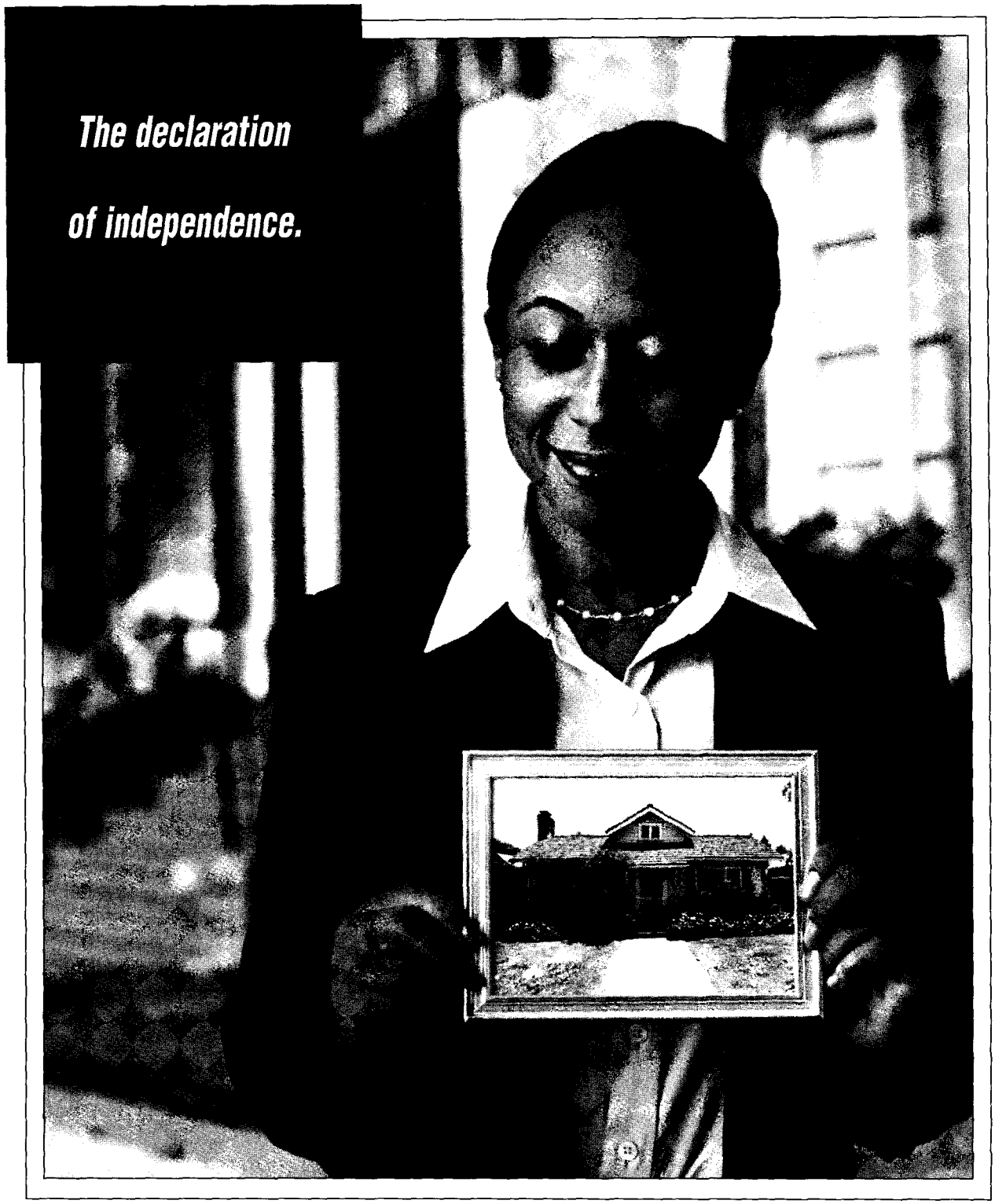

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poses the Bush resolve to end the threat from Iraq. The three basic tasks of government are to ensure external defense, to maintain internal order, and to operate an honest currency. Mr. Bush would be failing in the first two, and would make the third increasingly difficult, if he neglected to take all measures in his power to protect the people from nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

Instead, not only must he change the regime in Iraq; the question is: What further precautions must he take to make the U.S. reasonably safe? In the second half of the 20th century, the American government was obliged to answer this question by doing two very expensive and risky things. First, it had to build up a huge stockpile of nuclear weapons and continually update its delivery systems to maintain a balance of terror and/or first- and second-strike capabilities. Second, it had to construct a worldwide spread of alliances and bases to ensure its conventional superiority.

■

The risk of colossal attacks on centers of civilization must be diminished.

■

These measures are still necessary but they have receded into the background. The foreground is occupied by the need to eliminate regimes which, in one way or another, make international terrorism on a large scale possible and threaten to produce mass-destructive terrorism. Such states include not only all "the usual suspects"—Iran, Libya, Syria, Cuba, and North Korea (as well as Iraq)—but Saudi Arabia too, whose authoritarian monarchy pays protection money to terrorists and spreads the religious fundamentalism which lies at the root of the problem.

All these regimes need to be changed. By whose right, and with what authority, can the U.S. undertake such a wide-ranging program? It is this which takes us to the heart of the new, 21st-century form of geopolitics. The risk of great-power conflict is now small. The risk of nation-to-nation wars is diminishing. But the risk of colossal attacks on centers of civilization has increased, is increasing, and must be diminished.

Imagine a world in which the United States was stricken by a successful series of nuclear, biological, and chemical attacks. Putting aside the appalling loss of American lives this would involve, the global consequences would be horrifying. The world would be plunged into the deepest depression in its history. There would be no power-of-last-resort to uphold international order. Wolf and jackal states would quickly emerge to prey on their neighbors. It would be a world as described by Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (1651), in which, deprived of a giant authority figure "to keep them all in awe," civilization would break down, and life, for most of mankind, would be "nasty, brutish and short."

Hence, we do well to look at the crisis not as solely or even primarily an American problem, but as a global one. We need a Leviathan figure now much more than in the 17th century, when the range of a cannon was a maximum of two miles and its throw-weight was measured in pounds. America is the only constitutional Leviathan we have, which is precisely why the terrorists are striving to do him mortal injury, and the opponents of order throughout the world—in the media, on the campus, and among the flat-earthers—are so noisily opposed to Leviathan's protecting himself.

But Leviathan will not be deterred. He is in arms, and knows what he has to do. Moreover, he is not a solitary autocrat as in Hobbes's day, but a constitutional ruler with an educated people of nearly 300 million behind him. To vary the metaphor, the clock is ticking towards high noon but the sheriff is buckling in his belt and the citizens are aroused. Mr. Bush has been given a mission by the brutal logic of events and he must carry it out promptly and in full. Is America, then, a world policeman? The answer must be: Yes, and thank God for it. Progress has contracted all distances and made destructive forces almost limitless. So the world is now too small, and the weapons of the malefactors too devastating, for us to do without a constabulary enjoying full powers and global reach. As Mr. Gladstone once said, "the resources of civilization are not yet exhausted," and Mr. Bush has no moral alternative but to put himself at the head of them, and point the 21st century in the direction of world order and peace. **NR**

■ **AT WAR II** ■

Going with a Winner

The world takes sides, or hangs back

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

In the left corner, the United Nations; in the right corner, the United States. It looks like something of a championship match. Except that it isn't really, so long as the Bush administration keeps its resolve. It is a question of doing the right and obvious thing: It is unthinkable that a proven killer like Saddam Hussein should be able to deploy weapons of mass destruction. The sole means to that end is regime change. If the U.N. has its way, Saddam will give up some disposable part of his deadly weaponry, keep the rest, use it as opportunity arises, and outlast this President Bush and probably subsequent American presidents too. The prospect of such a man forcibly uniting the Arab world concentrates the mind.

The pitiful record of the U.N. in the Middle East speaks for itself. Far from preventing war, it precipitated it in 1967; stood by impotently in 1973; could do nothing about the Syrian invasion of Lebanon and would have accepted the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait unless the United States had acted; prolonged the Palestinian refugee problem; washed its hands of Israeli security; in short, has been pointless at best, harmful at worst.

But we live in a multilateral world, a strange euphemism which actually translates, "Let me see you furthering my interests better than I can do for myself." Its converse, unilateralism, means "The Americans are behaving in their own interest." Multilateralists devise plausible reasons for a wrong position. The Russians want money out

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author of, among other books, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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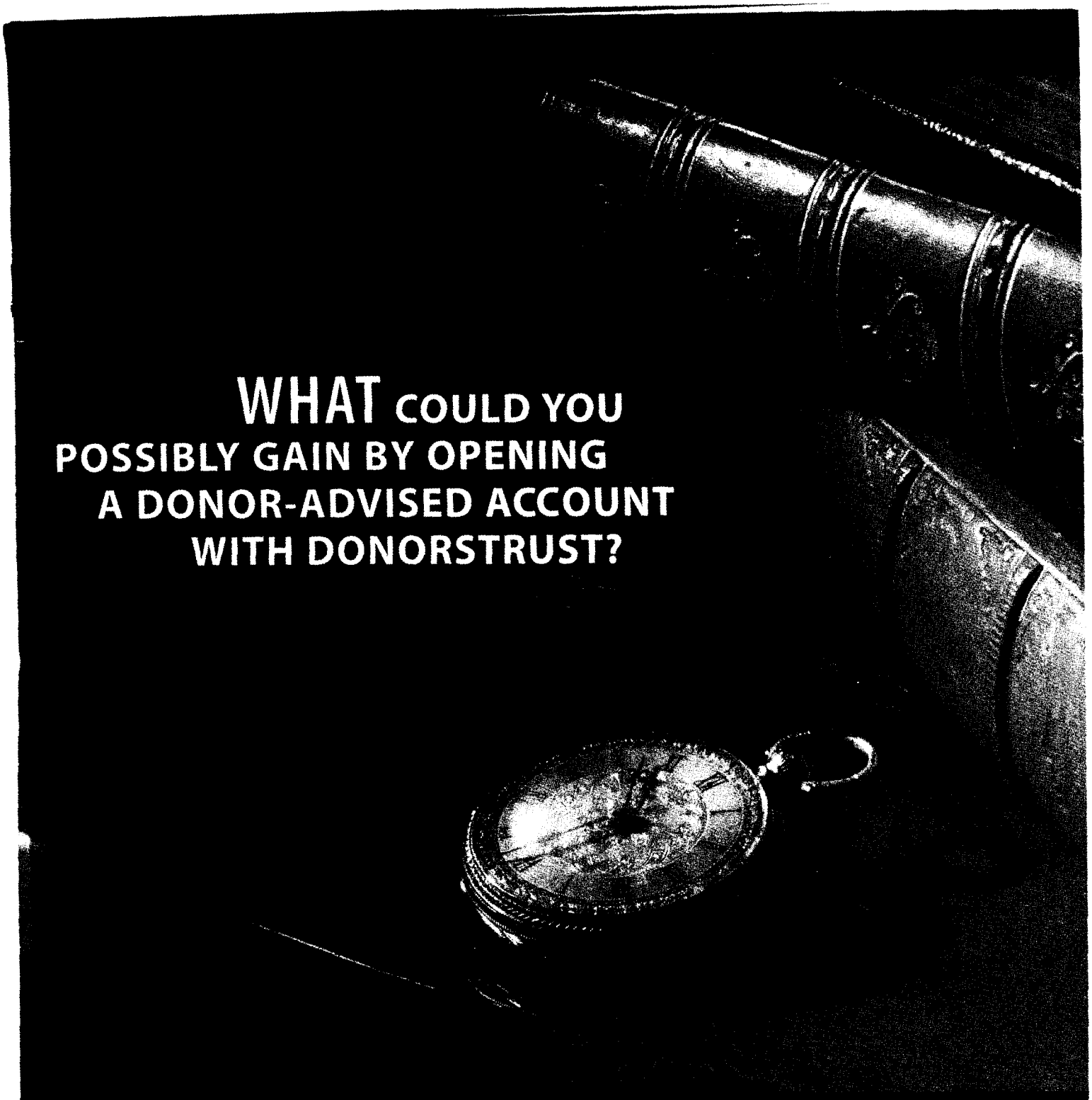

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of Iraq. President Putin expects 8 billion dollars, and ex-president Boris Yeltsin, now a ventriloquist's dummy, therefore bellows on his behalf, "We should not allow a U.S. military strike under any circumstances." France wants money too, but also *la gloire*, and so President Chirac calls for U.N. resolutions the way a prima donna goes for the high note. Out of anxiety to be reelected, Chancellor Schroeder speaks of the American "adventure" and promises to have nothing to do with it, may deny air space to U.S. forces, and wouldn't even support a U.N. campaign, if there were to be one. So the new German pacifism has an anti-American symmetry with the old German militarism. Herta Däubler-Gmelin, the German minister of justice, feels free to compare Bush to Hitler: "Bush wants to divert attention from domestic difficulties. That is a popular method. Hitler has done that before." Hers is a contribution to be remembered for a long time.

At least Tony Blair is convinced of the danger posed by Saddam, and is preparing to publish a dossier from intelligence sources to inform the public. But about 160 members of Parliament have registered dissent, and may vote against him when policy on Iraq comes to be debated in Westminster. Facing a major row with his own party, Blair is pinning his hopes on weapons inspection rather than regime change.

■

Double standards are the order of the day in the Arab world.

■

You have to give it to Saddam. Floating the idea of the unconditional return of the inspectors has been enough to launch a dazzling shoal of red herrings. Brought out of deserved retirement, Dr. Hans Blix, a former Swedish foreign minister, is head of the present inspectorate, known by the acronym of UNMOVIC. Hardly had Saddam made his offer before Dr. Blix was coming up with an immense list of "practicalities." For example, several months may be required, according to Blix, before UNMOVIC personnel and equipment are in place. It may be a year before any report on Iraqi weaponry is ready. Then it turns out that inspectors will have access only to military sites. Unconditional means conditional.

Iraqi defectors have informed everybody that Saddam has hidden the manufacturing plants and storage depots of his weapons of mass destruction in civilian sites all over the country, invisible from the air and probably on the ground as well. Seven hundred such sites (some authorities say twice as many) are thought to have been identified, but who knows what the reality is? Previous inspectors found mostly what was left for them to find. Tricks are sure to be played again until Saddam has only to declare that the inspectors still find nothing significant because there is nothing significant to find. That way he can hope to survive inspections and to keep his weapons until he is free to use them. There's also a suggestion that a limited number of U.S. troops should accompany the inspectors. A cut-price invasion of the sort would place all concerned at risk of a provocation or ambush at a time of Saddam's choosing.

An Arab proverb has it that a man who takes sides with a loser is not fit to be a statesman. In the past twelve months there have been 17 anti-American demonstrations in the Muslim world, all of them small-scale, and most of them in Peshawar and Quetta, the two most Islamist cities of Pakistan. The recent arrest after a gunfight in Karachi of Ramzi Binalshibh and other top al-Qaeda operatives did not cause attacks on Americans or their representative institutions like embassies and cultural centers.

Arabs are in a bind. Like everybody else, they know that Saddam is indefensible, and puts the whole Arab world to shame. But to say so out loud seems to be another equally painful way of shaming the whole Arab world. They'd like to be rid of Saddam without anyone noticing. So the press is full of anonymous "senior Arab diplomats" maintaining, "There's no support for regime change," while colleagues are furtively preparing for that very eventuality. Double standards are the order of the day. Jordanian parliamentary deputies, for example, have called on "all Arab countries to move collectively and seriously, and to adopt a united stand to confront any aggression against Iraq and to find ways to bring it out of the ordeal." At the same time, Jordan has allowed American military preparations at the base at Mafraq, and is arranging for cheap American-supplied oil to replace subsidized Iraqi oil.

Saudi Arabia is directly threatened by Saddam. Adel al-Jubeir, the Saudi crown prince Abdullah's foreign-policy adviser, and seemingly a fixture in the CNN studio, complains, "How can anybody justify going to war if Saddam is letting the inspectors back in and the responsibility of the inspectors is to dismantle the weapons of mass destruction?" Meanwhile Saudi Arabia has changed its mind and is prepared to allow the U.S. the use of its bases there, and sends high-level delegations to Iran, an ancient enemy of theirs and of Iraq's, in order to make sure that both countries sit out the coming campaign. They may hate America, but they fear Saddam more.

Turkey is no friend of the Arabs in general and Saddam in particular, but

The Right Reaction
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needs reassuring that the break-up of Iraq will not lead to a Kurdish state to tempt its own Kurds into separatism. For better or worse, there is no question of such a state. For form's sake, the Turkish president and chief of staff speak against American "unilateralism" but American aircraft are operating out of the invaluable Incirlik base.

Syria shares Iraq's Baathist national-socialist ideology, but this makes them rivals rather than allies. Damascus would rejoice in Saddam's downfall, but its foreign minister, Farouk Shara, says that striking Iraq represents "blind bias" and "distorted vision." As a token of goodwill, however, Syria has allowed the CIA access to Muhammad Haydar Zammar, who is believed to have recruited some of the September 11 terrorists. A Syrian, Zammar was arrested abroad and extradited home. In return, Congress is postponing the impositions of sanctions on Syria.

Arab ambivalence about Saddam and his aggressivity is captured in an article in Cairo's leading newspaper, *Al-Ahram*, by the poet Farouk Goweida. "In our hearts we are with the Iraqi people, and Egypt condemns the tough sanctions imposed on Iraq. At the same time, and with the same passion, we are with the Kuwaiti people, who want to live securely in their homeland without threats from their brothers and neighbors." Salah Eissa, editor of a weekly magazine in Cairo, writes, "We have to get past this Cold War mentality that anyone who is America's enemy is our friend." Raghda, a well-known Syrian-Egyptian actress, hit upon the perfect hypocrite's formula: "Saddam Hussein is not a catastrophe—but the situation in Iraq is!"

The Palestinians once more seem to be almost alone in failing to get the message. At a recent enthusiastic demonstration in Gaza, Saddam's representative handed out $25,000 checks to the families of suicide bombers, and among those present and approving was Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, head of the Islamist terror group Hamas.

These habitual unfortunates apart, people evidently have little difficulty identifying losers so long as the winner makes his intention clear. Once it's all over, of course, the United States will have to congratulate the U.N. on winning with a knock-out. **NR**

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■ AT WAR III ■

A Duty of Government?

The libertarians agonize, and split, over the war

RAMESH PONNURU

SEPTEMBER 11 may not have changed everything, but it has had one shocking effect on American political life: People are rethinking their positions on foreign policy. Moreover, the rethinking is genuine and not merely a matter of political opportunism.

Not everyone has gone so far as Henry Kissinger, who now believes that the international system of sovereign states that began with the Peace of Westphalia—the system within which he has worked and thought all his life—needs to be substantially revised in an era of proliferating weapons of mass destruction. But conservatives of all stripes have been moved to reconsider their Clinton-era opposition to "nation-building." For some left-wingers, merely rooting for the United States in a military engagement has required a radical change in sensibilities.

The libertarians, too, are thinking about foreign policy anew. Libertarians have generally been hostile to intervention abroad; the dominant position has been that military action is permissible only when the United States itself is physically attacked. All sensible people would like to avoid war when possible, of course, but libertarians had additional reasons to oppose it. War is both a vast and horrible government enterprise and a catalyst for expansions of government that, in many cases, outlast the war that occasioned them. Many libertarians therefore defined themselves in opposition to what they styled the "welfare-warfare state."

This time, however, American libertarians have been surprisingly hawkish. Most of them supported the campaign in Afghanistan. David Boaz, executive vice president of the Cato Institute, the leading libertarian think tank, notes that in the past, when he said that libertarians could support a war under some conditions, people would say that his conditions were so strict that he would never, in practice, find a war he could support. "Well, we finally found one."

The Libertarian party came out for the Afghan war, too, albeit with qualifications. The homeland had, after all, been attacked, and the perpetrators needed to be tracked down. The party did not, however, endorse the overthrow of the Taliban, and urged that America's response to the 9/11 attacks be "appropriate and measured." Its spokesmen have also continually argued that America's interventionist foreign policy provoked its enemies and that non-intervention "will reduce the chance that terrorists will want to strike [again] at America."

Not all libertarians were willing to endorse the exercise of American power. Harry Browne was the party's presidential candidate in 1996 and 2000. His comment on the day of the attacks: "When will we learn that we can't allow our politicians to bully the world without someone bullying back eventually?" Since then, Browne has said that in Afghanistan the U.S. "has attacked an innocent nation" and "slaughtered a lot of innocent people." He characterized America as "a threat to the world."

Browne's rhetoric was restrained compared with that of some like-minded libertarians. Over at Lewrockwell.com, readers can learn that Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, and even Madeleine Albright are "war criminals." The site's writers accept the Iraqi regime's propaganda at face value. The discredited claim that sanctions have killed 1.5 million Iraqis, for example, led one author to ponder the similarities between contemporary America and Nazi Germany. A few other websites indulge in similar pleasantries.

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Libertarians have generally been hostile to intervention abroad. But they are thinking about foreign policy anew.

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Some of the hard-core opponents of a military response to September 11 are simply anarchists or, as they would put it, "zero-state libertarians." The most they would have us do about Osama bin Laden is put a bounty on his head. In some cases, as the above examples suggest, their anti-statism has led them to a suspicion of the U.S. government—which is, after all, the most powerful state in history, in the arena of world affairs—that is indistinguishable from anti-Americanism.

The Independent Institute, a Bay Area libertarian think tank, hosted a seminar on the war this spring. The institute reports that one of the participants explained that America was a "terrorist state." Gore Vidal was on hand to notify the world that America was fighting in Afghanistan because war is good for corporate America and because we want Central Asian oil. Also participating was Robert Higgs, the libertarian scholar who wrote the well-respected book *Crisis and Leviathan* and who is an institute fellow. Higgs has not added to his reputation for sagacity with his post-9/11 comments. In the December 2001 issue of *Reason*, the major libertarian

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—Anita Dunn, Partner, Democratic media consulting firm Squier Knapp Dunn, and adviser to Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle

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magazine, Higgs predicted that as a result of anti-terrorist measures "the socio-political system will gravitate ineluctably toward totalitarianism." More recently, he has been characterizing a prospective American attack on Iraq as "naked aggression" and speculating that the Bush administration wants to defeat Saddam "apparently for reasons of political expediency."

The anti-war absolutists tend to depict less doctrinaire libertarians as sellouts. But this time, the anti-war crowd is facing a new and aggressive challenge: the rise of the blogosphere. There are bloggers—i.e., individuals who offer regularly updated commentary via their websites ("weblogs")—of all political descriptions, even Luddites. But libertarians, and articulate hawks, seem to be disproportionately represented among them. Glenn Reynolds, one of the most important bloggers, is a fellow traveler of libertarianism and a proponent of regime change in Iraq. A small army of like-minded web pundits have made the case for what might be called a muscular libertarianism. Indeed, someone whose knowledge of libertarianism came from the web might be forgiven for assuming that it is a fighting faith. One gets the sense, reading the anti-war sites, that these bloggers are the final straw: Now they *really* feel beleaguered.

Reynolds sums up the differences this way: "I think there's a split among libertarians between those who view government as the enemy and those who view individual self-defense as the most important right. There's a lot of overlap in political positions between people who take those views. To a lot of libertarians, the war looks like self-defense writ large. Whereas to another class of libertarians, anything that strengthens the state is wrong, even in self-defense."

On his site, Brink Lindsey has taken on the anti-warriors' premises. He argues that they are wrong to regard foreign military intervention as analogous to governmental intervention in domestic markets. The case against the latter rests on the existence of equilibrating mechanisms that intervention would disrupt. By contrast, "there is no invisible hand in foreign affairs." Other libertarian bloggers have declared themselves agnostic on the question of Iraq. Jacob T. Levy probably speaks for many libertarians when he writes that "the last year has made me more interventionist

In arguing for pre-emptive action against Iraq, the bloggers have gone beyond organized libertarianism.

than I had ever thought conceivable, by convincing me that even the internal affairs of other states can pose a mortal threat."

In arguing for pre-emptive action against Iraq, the bloggers have not only broken with the anti-war libertarians. They have also implicitly gone beyond organized libertarianism (to the extent that such a thing exists or can exist). The Cato Institute, the Libertarian party, and *Reason* are all against a pre-emptive strike. Small as their numbers are, then, the libertarians have divided into three camps of roughly equal strength: the anti-war absolutists, the hawks, and a libertarian mainstream that endorsed action in Afghanistan but opposes war with Iraq.

Boaz, the executive vice president of Cato, presents the disagreement over

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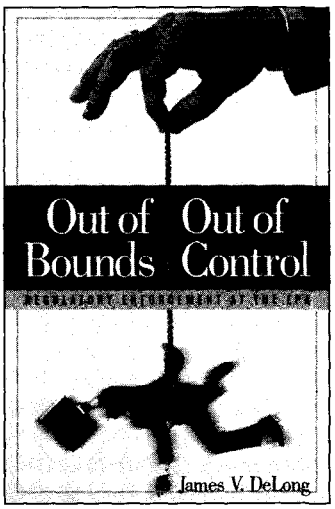

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Iraq as a difference among friends. Bush's doctrine of pre-emptive defense, he allows, "is not inherently anti-libertarian." But for the libertarian rethinking to go further, the bloggers will eventually have to take on not only the anarchist fringe but the organized movement, too. Cato's foreign-policy analysis leans heavily on the doctrine that (to quote its chairman, William Niskanen) "the best defense may be to give no unnecessary offense." In this regard, Cato is aligned with Browne, whose strategic advice to the U.S. on 9/11 was to emulate Switzerland. This might even make sense, if America were somehow able to stop being the most powerful country on earth.

In 1998, Ivan Eland, the director of defense-policy studies at Cato, wrote that "as a practical matter, the United States must resign itself to Iraq's possession of biological and chemical weapons." After all, America can't stop every bad actor in the world from getting such weapons. Eland concluded, "As schoolboys grow to be adults, they learn to ignore minor quarrels instead of fighting over every perceived affront. They also learn not to meddle gratuitously in disputes that don't concern them." This is not serious thought.

To an outsider, it may not seem to matter much what libertarians think. They are a small and fractious group of people. At most, the libertarian opponents of war with Iraq have influenced two congressmen, Republicans Dick Armey and Ron Paul; and Armey is backing away from his previously expressed opposition. (Paul, meanwhile, is a gadfly, and a gullible one: He believes both in "Gulf War Syndrome" and in all the latter-day claims of Scott Ritter.)

But libertarians themselves should care a great deal about how this debate plays out. Protecting citizens from foreign threats is a fundamental task of government. A political philosophy that regularly yields absurd conclusions when it turns to that task cannot plausibly be held up as a guide to good government. The absurdity, indeed, threatens to discredit libertarianism's valid conclusions, such as that most of the domestic functions of the federal government should be eliminated. Which is why conservatives have a stake in this debate, too. **NR**

■ AT WAR IV ■

Worse Than a Farce

The danger and lunacy of U.N. inspections

KATE O'BEIRNE

At a committee hearing on the eve of the 9/11 anniversary, Republican congressman Edward Schrock of Virginia paid an unusual tribute when he expressed his gratitude for the witnesses' chilling accounts of Saddam Hussein's arsenal of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons: On behalf of the members of the House Armed Services Committee, he thanked the former U.N. weapons inspectors for "scaring us to death."

Nor was Schrock, a House freshman, reacting as a nervous newcomer to military realities: He is a retired Navy captain with 24 years' service, including two tours in Vietnam. During a closed-door briefing on the scariest scenarios, and in a scary-enough open session, the veteran experts agreed that if the Iraqi dictator isn't removed from power, he will almost certainly use his weapons of mass destruction to launch a devastating first attack against the U.S. and its friends.

The witnesses were Dr. David A. Kay, who was chief nuclear-weapons inspector in Iraq for the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) immediately following the Gulf War, and Dr. Richard O. Spertzel, who headed up the biological-weapons inspection team until UNSCOM was booted from Iraq in 1998. Their informed case for the ouster of Saddam Hussein rests on their experiences with the severe limitations of the U.N.'s inspection regime, the fecklessness of the inspectors' overseers on the U.N. Security Council, "the gigantic scope and indigenous nature of Saddam's weapons program," and the coercive power wielded by his brutal dictatorship.

"We ought to give that inspection thing one more shot," former president Bill Clinton recently declared on *Larry King*

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Live. Others calling for another round of cat-and-mouse with Saddam share Clinton's ignorance of the fundamental nature of the U.N.'s "inspection thing," and ignore the Security Council's record of playing self-serving politics with the commission's mission and methods.

The U.N.'s weapons inspectors were charged with confirming that Saddam was fulfilling his post–Gulf War commitments to disarmament. Having been designed to verify the actions of a cooperating state, the inspection regime wasn't up to the task of catching a duplicitous dictator bent on hiding evidence of prohibited weapons in every nook and cranny of Iraq. Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control, explains, "It is a different proposition altogether to wander about a country looking for what has been deliberately concealed. That is a task with no end."

Having spent years in Iraq at precisely such an endless task, Dr. Kay says that it would take "tremendous resources, actually . . . resources beyond anything I can imagine," to prevent Saddam from thwarting inspections. The totalitarian Iraqi regime did a far better job of keeping track of the inspectors than the inspectors were able to do of keeping track of weapons. A recent analysis of the 280 inspections of facilities and sites that UNSCOM conducted from 1991 to 1998 found that fewer than a half dozen were surprise visits, catching the Iraqi minders off guard. Kay points out that Saddam has spent 20 years and an estimated $40 billion on a weapons-of-mass-destruction program that involves 40,000 Iraqis. To counter these enormous resources, any effective inspection force would be, in Kay's words, "very much like an occupation."

Furthermore, in their attempts to discover Iraq's deadliest weapons the inspectors actually had to fight a two-front war. The inspection teams were undercut by members of the Security Council eager to make business deals with Iraq, and cited an irresponsible buck-passing attitude of "if it were a serious problem, the U.S. would take care of it." By the time the U.N. capitulated in allowing Saddam to refuse inspectors access to "sensitive sites," Kay claims, UNSCOM had become so emasculated it "had almost become a shielding force for Iraq's weapons-of-mass-destruction development program."

Dr. Spertzel agrees, flatly declaring that in the face of a determined regime like Saddam's, "the inspectors don't have a chance." He points out that it took a full year to set up the biological-inspection system, including an extensive effort to survey every site in Iraq—including hospitals, labs, and breweries—that had potential for biological-weapons work. Once 80 sites were identified, monitoring was largely confined to reviewing the semi-annual or monthly reports the sites were required to provide. Given Saddam's long history of deception, the U.N.'s reliance on self-reporting was self-defeating. And the deception has become ever more creative. Spertzel points out that Iraq's use of mobile vans as production facilities would make their detection by monitors "virtually impossible."

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Any effective inspection force would be 'very much like an occupation.'

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Saddam's biological-warfare program began in the early 1970s—probably, Spertzel notes, within a few months of Iraq's signing the Biological Weapons Convention. Spertzel explains that the biological-weapons program was organized under the intelligence service, and from the beginning had a "terrorist application" (what the Iraqis refer to as "secreted delivery"), along with its regular-military component. He believes that this program is undoubtedly much stronger today than at the time of the Gulf War. The agents in Saddam's biological arsenal that most concern Spertzel are anthrax, tularemia bacteria, and the smallpox virus that Iraq "almost certainly" has. In addition, Spertzel points out, Iraq has been working on weaponizing aflatoxin, a carcinogen whose ten-year trigger rules it out for military use, and cites "pretty doggone good evidence" that it has been used against the Kurds in northern Iraq. He agrees with Dr. Christine Gosden, the British scientist who has documented 250 uses of chemical and biological weapons by Saddam Hussein.

While the experts debate whether Saddam has the requisite fissile material to produce nuclear weapons, Spertzel's experience with Iraq's well-documented capabilities lead him to conclude that the U.S. faces a grave non-nuclear risk: "It is my opinion that Iraq's greatest threat to the U.S., and certainly the U.S. homeland, is in the production of agents, bacterial agents, to be used by terrorists."

During his testimony, Spertzel reminded committee members that it is extremely difficult to trace the origin of a biological agent, and then quickly sketched one possible use of weapons-grade material. The biological agent would be delivered in a covert way, to maximize casualties, maybe in a multi-city assault, similar to last September's attacks. "Delivery boys" with little specialized knowledge need only release about 20 grams of material in the ventilation system of an office building. In a 14-to-16-story building, there would be 100 percent casualties. There was another scenario Spertzel didn't detail in the public hearing—one "that potentially could involve upwards to a million people with [a] relatively small quantity of material."

How might Saddam use the smallpox virus that Spertzel believes him to possess? In powdered form, this virus is relatively stable and so quite easy to get into the U.S. If it were released in a building's ventilation system, about 30 percent of those exposed would die, and during the five-day-to-two-week incubation period, about ten additional people would be exposed for each person initially infected. Thus, 400 infected individuals would pretty quickly result in 4,000 cases of smallpox, each in turn infecting at least 10 others. Even if Saddam ordered an airplane flying *inside Iraq's borders* to release a biological agent, there could be a "devastating effect as far south as Yemen and Oman," which would include thousands of Americans stationed in Saudi Arabia.

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld recently detailed the threat posed by the nexus of a terrorist state, weapons of mass destruction, and terrorist networks operating around the world—and he recalled how a previous, similarly crucial period in our past was recorded by historians. The story, he said, has been told in books with evocative titles: *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor*; *December 7, 1941: The Day the Admirals Slept Late*; and *While England Slept*. But this time, mid-September 2002, the House Armed Services Committee received an undeniable, unambiguous wake-up call. **NR**

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How not to fight Saddam Hussein

BYRON YORK

LAST February, Hans Blix, the United Nations arms-inspection chief who will, if the Security Council has its way, search Iraq for weapons of mass destruction, addressed a group of inspectors-in-training at a U.N. facility in Geneva. He gave a brief history of UNMOVIC—the United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission—which he now heads and which will do the searches. After the history lesson, Blix got to a key issue: How should the inspectors conduct themselves inside Saddam Hussein's Iraq? "If I were to give some adjectives of what I believe would be desirable conduct, I would say driving and dynamic—but not angry and aggressive," Blix said. Inspectors, he continued, should be "friendly, but not cozy" and "show respect for those you deal with, and demand respect for yourself." Finally, Blix advised, "A light tone or a joke may sometimes break a nervous atmosphere."

A decade earlier, on August 6, 1991, the *Washington Post* ran a story headlined "Baghdad Surreptitiously Extracted Plutonium; International Monitoring Apparently Failed." The story, and several subsequent reports, revealed that Saddam had put together a massive and sophisticated nuclear-weapons program virtually under the nose of one Hans Blix, who was then head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the group charged with monitoring compliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In the years leading up to 1991, Blix gave Saddam high marks for abiding by the treaty; the nuclear program was discovered in 1991 only after an Iraqi defector told authorities about it. Blix was stunned. "The system was not designed to pick this up," he told the *Post*.

Now Blix, a 74-year-old former Swedish diplomat, is preparing to take on perhaps the most important arms inspections ever. His critics point to the Iraqi nuclear fiasco and ask why a man who missed one of the most extensive illegal arms programs in recent years has been selected to conduct inspections in Iraq today. "He has a history of not being terribly aggressive," says Gary Milhollin, of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control. "The Iraqis were given stars for good behavior, when in fact they were making bombs in the rooms next door to the ones the inspectors were going into." Two other nuclear-arms experts, Paul Leventhal and Steven Dolley of the Nuclear Control Institute, have written that while the best arms inspectors are "confrontational, refusing to accept Iraqi obfuscations and demanding evidence of destroyed weapons . . . IAEA was more accommodating, giving Iraqi nuclear officials the benefit of the doubt when they failed to provide evidence that all nuclear weapons components had been destroyed and all prohibited activities terminated."

Blix's critics also point to the way he got his current job as evidence that he is not the best choice for the weapons-inspection assignment. After heading the IAEA from 1981 until 1997, he was asked by the U.N. at the beginning of 2000 to head UNMOVIC, the new agency that replaced the older United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM). But Blix was not the first choice for the job. The United States wanted another veteran inspector, Rolf Ekeus, who was viewed as more assertive than Blix (although less so than former UNSCOM head Richard Butler). But Iraqi allies France and Russia would not accept Ekeus. "The French and the Russians didn't want Ekeus because he was too aggressive," says Milhollin. "They wanted Blix instead." Faced with those objections, the Clinton administration backed down and accepted Blix as an alternative choice.

Hans Blix by Ismael Roldan

So Blix is, in the view of a number of people of differing philosophical viewpoints, insufficiently aggressive, responsible for a momentous arms-inspection failure, and, on top of it all, Saddam Hussein's choice for the job of inspecting Saddam Hussein's weapons installations. Is there anything that can be said in his favor?

Blix's defenders say the Iraqi nuclear-weapons mess does not prove anything about the kind of job he would do in weapons-inspections today. The problem in 1991, they say, was not Blix, but rather the inspection regime that existed at the time. "I don't think you can lay it at his feet," says Ewen Buchanan of UNMOVIC. "You have to lay it at the feet of the system that was in place." Buchanan says that at the time Blix missed the Iraqi nuclear program, "the rules of the IAEA, which are drawn up by its membership, only allowed for inspection of declared facilities. So if Iraq only declared A and B, that's where the inspectors went."

It's also possible that Blix has learned from his mistakes. He was, in the words of one acquaintance, "burned very badly" by the Iraqi nuclear weapons. Maybe he'll do better now. But discussing whether Blix will do an acceptable job leaves aside the question of whether the job should be done at all. Suggesting that Blix is the wrong man

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for the job implies that there is a *right* man for the job—when the reality may be that the job is simply not worth doing at all. A senior Bush-administration official points out that the real problem here is not Blix—it's the idea that inspections can work with Saddam Hussein still in power. "It is not possible structurally for Blix or anybody else to do this job," says the official. "You can see this from the difficulties that UNSCOM had after we crushed Iraq in 1991. The fact is that when Iraq was on its knees, UNSCOM couldn't find out everything. The idea that UNMOVIC will find what it needs to find is just implausible."

There's nothing in Blix's record—even if he has improved since his see-no-evil days in the early 1990s—to inspire confidence that he will make the weapons-inspection system work this time. But there's also nothing to inspire confidence that *any* weapons inspections will work with Saddam. Blix, it seems, is simply the wrong man for the wrong job. **NR**

The Right Reaction
NATIONAL REVIEW

"I can only hope that the civil-rights division . . . will not make policy and personnel decisions based upon the wishes [and] recommendations of NATIONAL REVIEW."

—Sen. Ted Kennedy refers to John J. Miller's "Fort Liberalism" (NR, May 6, 2002) during Judiciary Committee oversight hearings of the Department of Justice's civil-rights division.

■ TEXAS ■

The Hispanic Republic of Texas

It's coming. Soon.

JOHN J. MILLER

If Texas voters elect Ron Kirk to the Senate on November 5, his win will become the story of Election Night. The TV commentators will dwell on his amazing victory, and his smiling face will be on the front pages of the Wednesday morning papers.

This summer, it looked like Kirk might pull it off. The polls had him leading his Republican opponent, attorney general John Cornyn. There was even talk that the Democrats' gubernatorial candidate, a self-funded millionaire named Tony Sanchez, would unseat Gov. Rick Perry. A big year for Democrats in Texas? This sort of thing isn't supposed to happen.

And it probably won't—at least not this time. By September, Cornyn had inched ahead of Kirk, and Perry appeared to have a comfortable lead over Sanchez. Yet their summertime bubble was not imaginary. A political transformation is coming to Texas, driven by the hard facts of Hispanic demography. When it does arrive, it will almost certainly not be to the liking of conservatives.

The most important political story of the last few decades in Texas has been the remarkable rise of the GOP—how a one-party state dominated by Democrats became a one-party state dominated by Republicans. The high-water mark arrived six years ago, when the GOP won every statewide race. Two years later, of course, Texas sent its chief executive to the White House.

That's a tough act to follow anywhere, but it will soon become impossible for Texas Republicans to approach anything like it again. The most important political story of the next decade or two in Texas will be the ascendancy of the Democrats.

It all comes down to Hispanic population growth. Along with New Mexico, Texas is home to some of the oldest and most established Mexican-American communities in the country. But there are plenty of newcomers as well. Of the 6.7 million Hispanics in Texas—about one-third of the total state population—almost 2.4 million arrived in the 1990s. State demographer Steve Murdock calculates that Anglos (i.e., non-Hispanic whites) will make up less than half the population within three or four years. "Sometime between 2026 and 2035," he adds, "Texas will become majority Hispanic, assuming current trends hold." The Anglo population won't decline in absolute numbers, as it has in California and several other large states, but Murdock anticipates that its growth will brake to a near stop.

No Democrat running for a major statewide office in Texas has won a majority of Anglo votes in 20 years—the last was Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, in 1982. "Back then, everybody was talking about 'Republican realignment,'" says David Hill, Cornyn's pollster. "We did a study looking at the birthrates and migration patterns of different groups. Our conclusion was that the realignment would be undone by the first decade of the 21st century, and now we're here."

Hill says that two things have slowed the pace of change: Hispanics don't vote as frequently as Anglos and blacks, and George W. Bush busted the idea that Republicans can't attract more than a third of their votes. Exit polls have never agreed on how much support Bush really draws from Texas Hispanics, but 40 percent is probably a reasonable estimate. On the national level in 2000, he is believed to have captured 31 percent of all Hispanic votes—a dismal performance in one sense, but also the best GOP showing since Ronald Reagan's in 1984.

This is no way to a governing majority. The math is simple: More Hispanic voters equals fewer Republican victories. And one thing is certain about the future in Texas: There will be more Hispanic voters. Bush's success has given the GOP a short reprieve from the

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There are two levels of reality in today's Catholic Church. There is the level of magisterial teaching and the level of ordinary parish life (not all parishes, but still way too many). From the first level we learn that there are serious sins: premarital sex, adultery, abortion, homosexual behavior, etc. But at the second level we hear nothing about any of that.

Why not? Some pastors do believe what the Church teaches, but are afraid to preach it. They're garden-variety cowards. But there are other pastors who don't teach it because they *don't believe it*. And because they don't believe it, they don't adhere to it in their personal lives. They live sinfully duplicitous lives. And the truth is coming out.

Contrast this situation with that of the Episcopal Church over the past forty or so years. The Episcopal Church once taught high moral standards too. And many of their priests didn't adhere to them either. In Episcopalian circles there have been lots of stories about pedophile priests, actively homosexual priests, etc. But these stories didn't hit the headlines of newspapers, didn't make the covers of the news magazines, didn't get featured on TV. No one blew the whistle.

Why the difference? Before you accuse the media, consider how in the Old Testament, when Israel fell into idolatry and unrighteousness, the LORD punished her. The Catholic Church is the New Israel, the one true Church. The LORD will simply not let her go her own way. Remember the words of Hebrews 12:5-8,11: "My son, do not despise the chastening of the LORD.... For whom the LORD loves He chastens.... If you endure chastening, God deals with you as with sons; for what son is there whom a father does not chasten? But if you are without chastening...then you are illegitimate and not sons.... Chastening seems...grievous; nevertheless, afterward it yields the peaceable fruit of righteousness...."

The Episcopal Church, however appealing in some ways, is not the one true Church (and has never claimed to be). The LORD has simply let that church go her gay and goofy way.

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inevitable, and it may last a bit longer, surviving on the fumes of recent success. Then comes the tipping point—"maybe by the end of the decade," says one senior White House politico.

Many Republicans have wrestled with this problem, but the party still has not had to reckon with the consequences of Hispanic demography on the federal level. One of the peculiarities of the Electoral College is that the national distribution of Hispanics actually aids the GOP: If every Hispanic voter had stayed home on Election Day in 2000, Bush would have won the popular vote but Al Gore would be president. Without Hispanics, California, Illinois, and New York still would have gone for Bill Clinton or Gore in each of the last three elections. Without Cuban Americans, however, Florida would have slipped away from the GOP.

This goes to show that not all Hispanics are alike. Just as there's a big difference between Cuban Americans and other Hispanics, there's a big difference between immigrants in East Los Angeles and Mexican Americans from old families in Laredo. Texas Hispanics, in fact, are more conservative than most other Hispanics. According to a recent poll by the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, they're much less concerned about race relations and discrimination than Hispanics in other states, and much more concerned about jobs and the economy. They are also less supportive of abortion rights and gun control. "Hispanics in Texas aren't liberals," says Tom Pauken, former GOP state chairman. Yet this may be small consolation: Two-thirds consider themselves Democrats—the party of abortion rights and gun control—and in this respect they aren't much different from the national Hispanic profile.

When a sink's overflowing, the first thing to do is shut off the water, and one potential solution for Republicans is to try cutting legal immigration. Yet this strategy may have fatal drawbacks. "The restrictionists are asking us to take a huge gamble on the unlikely odds that immigration reform will succeed. The whole project would alienate Hispanics from Republicans even further, including those who haven't even arrived yet," says Dan Griswold of the Cato Institute. Hope may have to rest on assimilation. "Middle-class Hispanics are basically split, 50–50, between the two parties," says Richard Murray, who directs the *Houston Chronicle*'s political polling.

But that's the long term. The short-term good news for Texas Republicans is that they look ready to have a successful 2002 election. In March, the Democrats

nominated the so-called "Dream Team" ticket—a black for the Senate (Kirk), a Hispanic for governor (Sanchez), and an Anglo for lieutenant governor (John Sharp). This sort of racial and ethnic balancing may represent the political future of Texas, but it hasn't electrified the state this time around.

Demographic destiny probably won't come soon enough for Ron Kirk. As mayor of Dallas, he earned a solid reputation for working with the business community, and had the look of a center-seeking New Democrat—but it may be old-time liberalism that undoes his campaign. In August, *The New Yorker* quoted Kirk summarizing his election this way: "What it comes down to is whether white people are going to vote for a black man." For most voters, of course, it will come down to something else, such as Kirk's views on Iraq and his willingness to support the president.

At a rally in San Antonio on September 13, Kirk made what may go down as the great belly-flop comment of his candidacy. "You go look at the people that are responsible for all the corporate wrongdoing in this country, you ain't gonna find a whole lot of people who look like us. You go to Wall Street and look at the people who have been defrauding our nation and brought our economy to its knees, you ain't gonna find a lot of people who look like us," he said to a heavily minority audience.

This loose talk about The Man was obnoxious, but the worst—by far—was yet to come: "You go to the battlefield of Afghanistan, you look in the burial grounds of Arlington National Cemetery, you go to [the] Vietnam [Memorial], you find us anywhere. . . . I wonder how excited [my critics would] be if I get to the United States Senate and I put forth a resolution that says the next time we go to war the first 500,000 kids have to come from families who earn a million dollars or more." This moment of racial hysteria, by the way, comes courtesy of a man who said he opposed Bush judicial nominee Priscilla Owen—a native Texan—because he found her lacking the "even temperament" to be a federal judge.

What remains clear is that Texas Democrats really might have threatened Republicans in this election—but only if they had nominated candidates like John Breaux and Zell Miller. Kirk is no race hustler like Jesse Jackson or Al Sharpton—he has tried to help Dallas corporations, not shake them down—but he still is to the left of where Texans want their politicians to be. The last Democrat to occupy the seat Sen. Phil Gramm is giving up was Lyndon Johnson, and the next one probably won't be Ron Kirk; at least not in 2002. But he or someone very much like him is in the cards for Texas—and much sooner than most Republicans realize. **NR**

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■ AT WAR VI ■

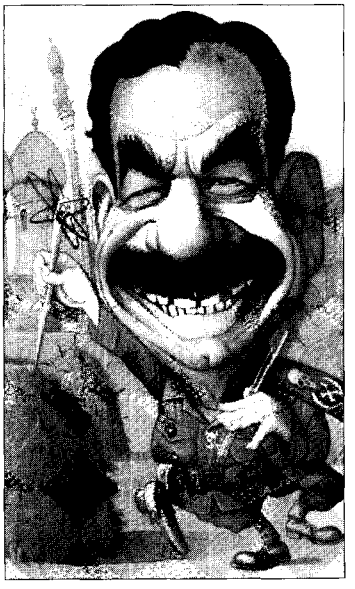
Making the World Safe—Period

The place of democracy in our foreign policy

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

WILL the forthcoming invasion of Iraq prove to be a war to establish the first democratic Iraqi state? Indeed, will it be the first stage in establishing a Middle East of Muslim Arab states rooted securely in modern democracy? Hey—why stop there? Is it destined to be merely the first skirmish in a war led by the United States to make *the entire world* safe for democracy?

These questions imply a boldly interventionist vision of American foreign policy. Yet they are not far removed from the considerations now openly discussed in Washington by serious people. Certain kinds of political outlook—liberal internationalism on the left, crusading neoconservatism on the right—desire a moral justification for military intervention beyond the practical advancement of U.S. interests. We are assured that the foreign policy of an idealistic people should aim also at spreading their values—democracy, free markets, and human rights—around the world. The overwhelming military and economic dominance of the U.S. gives it the ability at least to embark on such an ambitious program. And a combination of 9/11 and a genuine Iraqi threat provides the necessary pretext for such a campaign.



All but a handful of people on the right support military action to invade and occupy Iraq; an automatic corollary of that commitment is that after a victory the U.S. would be faced with the unavoidable duty of establishing some kind of new regime there. Given who we are, that regime would obviously have to be some kind of democratic one. Beyond that, however, the notion of basing American policy on spreading democracy is fraught with difficulties and hidden dangers.

Indeed, even the unavoidable duty of establishing a democratic Iraq after defeat would be hard to accomplish. The Iraqis doubtless want democracy after years of oppressive dictatorship; but there are many examples of nations' obtaining democracy amid wild celebrations only to lose or abandon it amid cynicism a few years later. Nor is it an especially mysterious paradox: People almost certainly have—as Francis Fukuyama has argued—some kind of natural bent for democratic government, because it is the mature political expression of a desire to have one's dignity respected. That desire ranks rather low, however, not in a philosophical hierarchy of desires but in point of historical time and urgency. Someone is likely to be concerned about his dignity only when he already enjoys a measure of prosperity, comfort, and social awareness. A peasant tilling the fields who encounters government only rarely and at third hand is unlikely to feel a fierce anger because he exercises no influence on the emperor's decisions. But his grandson in the city, a wealthy lawyer who heads an international partnership of 50 lawyers, will feel humiliated at his exclusion from political authority. He will therefore agitate for democracy and seek to exercise it.

To make democracy work, however, requires more than enthusiasm. Among the important cultural underpinnings of democracy are: a tradition of debate; a culture of self-restraint in the exercise of power (the concept of a loyal opposition is central to effective democracy, yet unimaginable in an autocratic culture); a strong middle class used to exercising power responsibly in economic and social life; and, above all, a broad social consensus on religious and cultural concerns—for if people differ profoundly on the highest questions of life and salvation, they will refuse to accept political defeat at the hands of opponents they consider infidels.

When states lack some or all of these preconditions, democracy is either distorted or doomed. Religiously divided societies like Lebanon or Northern Ireland develop "confessional" constitutions that base political representation not on majority voting but on religious or community affiliation. Societies without a tradition of ordered liberty and loyal opposition, such as most of Latin America, alternate between democracy and authoritarianism. And the most common distortion in a world in which democracy is the only respectable form of government is what Fareed Zakaria of *Newsweek* calls "illiberal democracy"—that state of affairs in which governments are subject to free and fair elections but themselves impose severe restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly.

Zakaria points out, for instance, that though the Iranian parliament is elected more freely than most in the Middle East, it imposes harsh restrictions on speech, assembly, and even dress. Left to itself, an Iraqi democracy might well evolve in a similar direction. Both countries have the advantage of a large and well-educated middle class whose members certainly want to see their dignity reflected in democratic institutions. But they lack most of the other preconditions for democracy—as their

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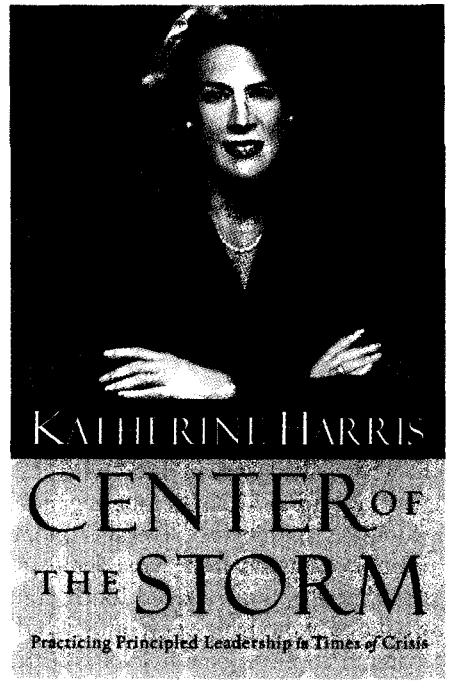

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histories amply demonstrate. And though both countries are ethnically diverse, Iran—with Shia Muslims making up 89 percent of its population—is much less culturally divided than Iraq.

Common sense suggests that an Iraqi democracy would therefore need to undergo a longish period of Western tutelage as its various ethnic groups, religions, and social elites learned to cooperate with one another in running a constitutional-democratic government. But the emphasis would be on the "constitutional" rather than the "democratic." In this, it would resemble the Western protectorates in Kosovo and Bosnia, where NATO or the U.N. simply removes from office those elected politicians who affront their liberal sensibilities by running nationalist radio stations or refusing to cooperate in multi-ethnic institutions.

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Common sense suggests that an Iraqi democracy would need to undergo a longish period of Western tutelage.

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These quasi-democratic arrangements are somewhat similar to what Zakaria has in mind when he proposes that the best path to reform for autocratic regimes such as Saudi Arabia's would be to introduce liberal economic, political, and social institutions gradually, leaving democratic elections for last. By the time elections arrived, both politicians and the public would be thoroughly apprenticed to democracy as a result of living in constitutional freedom. Without such a preparation, the result might well be "one man, one vote, one time"—or the installation of a fierce fundamentalist regime, unambiguously hostile to the U.S. and unrestrained by pragmatic calculations in expressing that hostility.

THE ROAD AFTER IRAQ

Even so, it cannot be taken for granted that even a long Iraqi apprenticeship to democracy would avert these various disasters: After 50 years of democracy, India this year has seen almost 1,000 people murdered in communal riots. A democratic regime in Iraq would be beset by many incidental problems such as neighbors who want its democracy to fail (Saudi Arabia, Syria), internal groups that may seek to legalize their de facto independence (the Kurds in northern Iraq, the Shia in the south), and a Saddamite remnant in the bureaucracy that may resist reform.

When we move from Iraq to other nations, the task becomes even more difficult. In some countries, notably China, very large sectors of the population have not yet reached the stage of economic security at which they feel that their dignity is affronted by autocratic rule. At present they are at the stage identified by the anti-liberal High Tory philosopher John Gray as one in which the government enjoys legitimacy because it provides people with security, the prospect of material betterment, and a form of rule that accords with (or at least does not outrage) their moral beliefs.

In China, the regime seems to have successfully made the transition from an unpopular Communism to a highly popular mixture of capitalism and ethnic nationalism as its justifying ideology. Singapore is a more advanced (and less autocratic) version of the same phenomenon. These regimes will be gradually pulled in a democratic direction as the Chinese rural masses move into modern urban society and as the Singaporeans grow accustomed to being rich. Both are then likely to develop democratic discontent—as the Taiwanese and South Koreans have already done. So it makes no sense for the U.S. to wage war, even merely ideological war, on such undemocratic societies when they are (a) not yet receptive to importing democracy, and (b) almost certain to demand it successfully from potential domestic suppliers over time.

America's role here should be to provide backward governments with the political and economic incentives to move toward democracy in line with the developing appetite of their citizens for it—and, admittedly, to be ready with corresponding penalties when these governments egregiously offend international norms, as when Beijing fired on the students at Tiananmen Square. It has a theoretically harder problem to solve when existing democracies look likely to fail—as may be about to happen in several Latin American countries, notably Brazil and Argentina—because they lack the habits of voluntary cooperation and self-restraint that underpin Anglo-American democracy. These are not problems that can be solved by the U.S. military or even by the State Department. In effect the U.S. has to rely on the transforming influence of cultural change in the age of the Internet. It has to hope that the citizens of statist or traditional societies will gradually develop good democratic habits in response to the free competition of ideas and traditions across frontiers.

But what is likely to be the nature of the democracy that the U.S. exports today? In recent years, even as neoconservatives were celebrating the triumph of democratic capitalism worldwide, the content of this democracy was being radically redefined by liberals and progressives. And in redefining it, they have rendered it largely or wholly undemocratic. As Hudson Institute fellow John Fonte has argued in his recent critique of "trans-national progressivism," the new democracy takes virtually every democratic concept and inverts it. For majority rule in a sovereign democratic state, it substitutes permanent negotiations between ethnic groups. In place of a common national culture, it proposes ethno-cultural separatism. And in place of sovereign governments, it proposes a vast international Leviathan of overlapping jurisdictions. It is a system in which political power is located everywhere and nowhere and is therefore beyond the control of democratic parliaments. As Fukuyama said in his recent John Bonython Lecture in Australia, such a system positively "invites abuse on the part of elites who are then free to interpret the will of the international community to suit their own preferences."

Yet it is this system that the U.S. increasingly implements at home, via such devices as racial preferences and multiculturalism. And U.S. ambassadors abroad have reproached governments for not living up to such progressive injunctions as parliamentary set-asides for women politicians. My advice to any innocent abroad who is thinking of buying the whole American democratic package is to read the list of ingredients with care. **NR**

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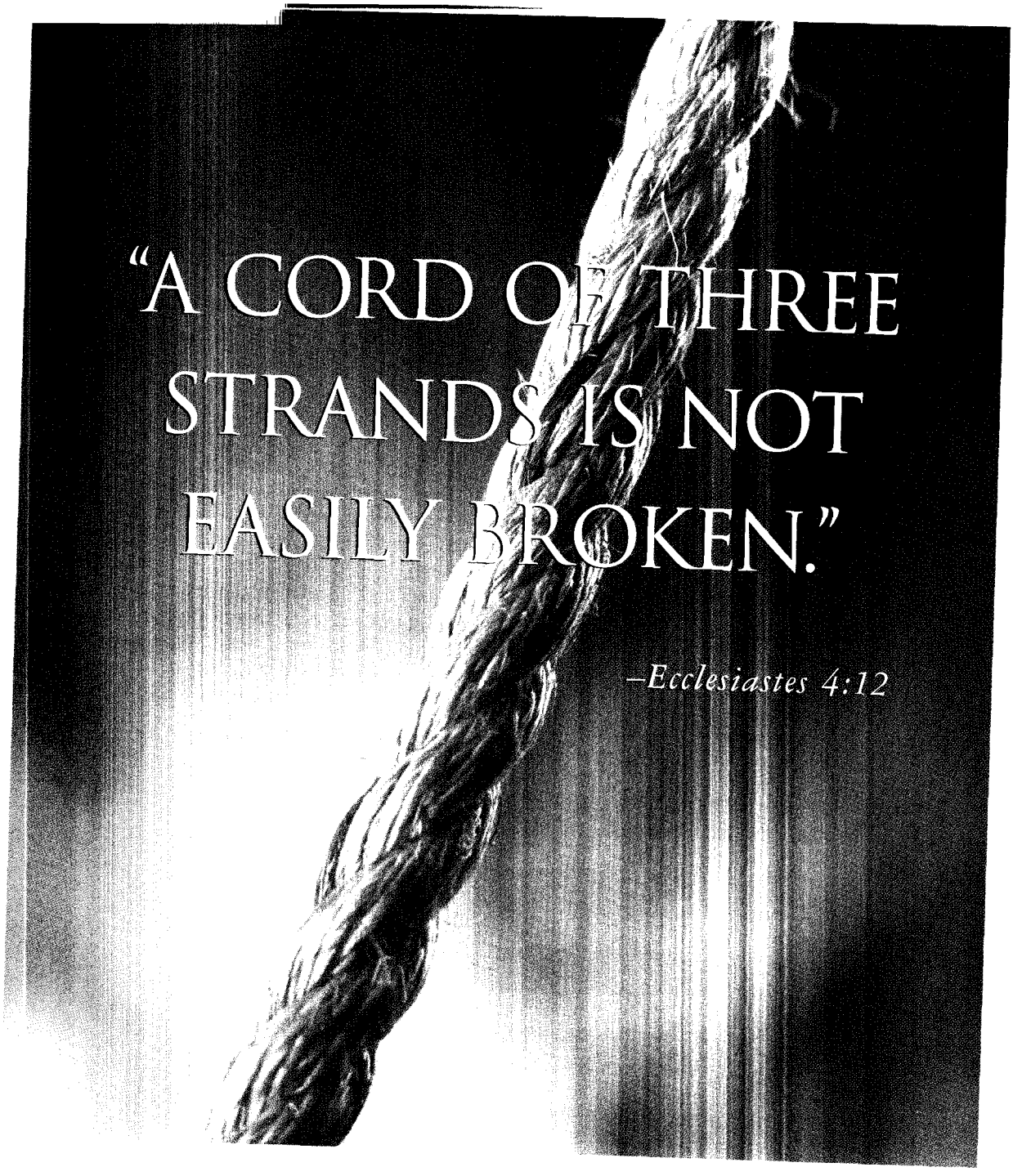

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European Communities

A report from Greece and Albania

JAY NORDLINGER

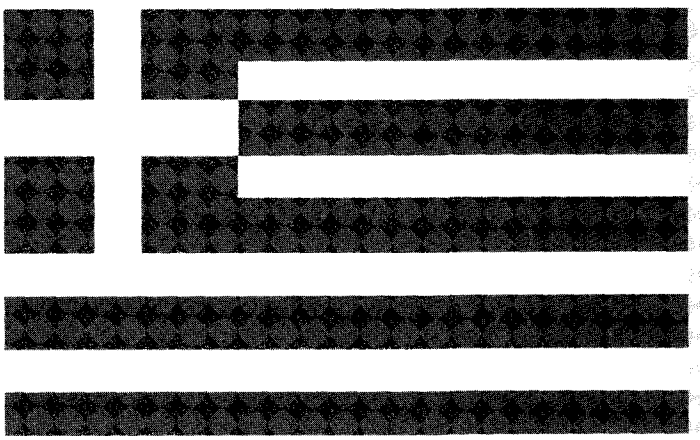
GREECE is said to be the most anti-American country in Europe, and Albania the most pro-American. As it happened, my itinerary included both countries. I was to speak on 9/11 and the ongoing war, and to mix it up a little with local journalists and intellectuals. Anything learned? Many things, among them that there is really no such thing as a European: The continent is not a monolith, no matter what the grandees in Brussels might wish. Also, that anti-Americanism is something of a house of cards, ready to collapse with a breath of reason and explication. Of course, you can do nothing about the die-hards. But what can you do about die-hards anywhere, including on an American campus?

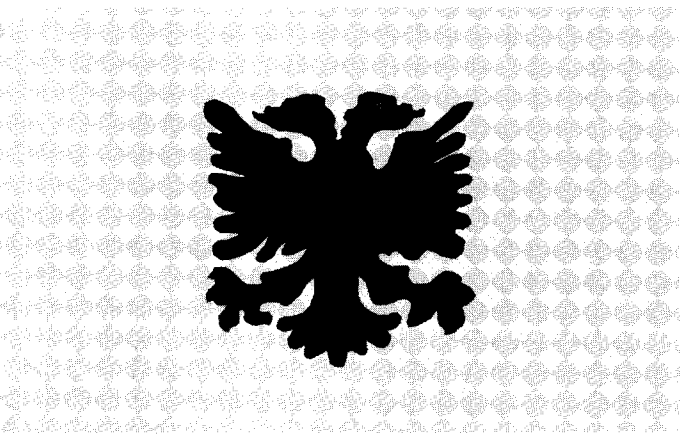
The first thing an American is told in Greece is, "Don't say anything about terrorism"—meaning, domestic terrorism, with which Greece has had a problem. The Greeks are very sensitive to criticism on this score, particularly coming from Americans. Recently, government authorities rounded up the terrorists of the November 17 group, which has wreaked havoc for the last 25 years. In the course of their work, they murdered five Americans, and the Greek political establishment did not seem especially sorrowful or alarmed. In light of the current American-led war, and the coming of the Olympic Games to Athens in 2004, the Greeks were feeling extra pressure to do something about terrorists in their midst. Good for them. I was certainly not going to mention it, even to laud it.

But a young journalist in Thessaloniki (or Salonika, as we once called it) was quick to spring it on me: Why are you Americans so sensitive about this terror group, since merely five of your people died at its hands? This attitude—rather bristling and callous, actually—reminded me of something that had just been reported in *The* (London) *Spectator*. The magazine's editor, Boris Johnson, interviewed the Saudi ambassador to London, one Ghazi Algosaibi, notorious for penning poetic homages to Palestinian suicide-bombers. The ambassador, in an obvious effort to flatter his interviewer, said, "The American psyche is unlike the British psyche. . . . You have two prime ministers almost killed, and you say, Oh, well, some things are fated, some are not. The Americans say, We are going to go and get them."

This is a typical criticism, certainly heard in Greece: American overreaction (to go with American arrogance, bullying, ignorance, and all the rest). I, for one, found it helpful to cite Donald Rumsfeld's line, which is that the present war is not a war of revenge, retaliation, or retribution—those are the three wrong R's. No, it is a war of self-defense, because unless our enemies are subdued, they will kill many more, as they have vowed. Recite this argument, and heads are likely to nod; at least there is a willingness to consider.

After the 9/11 attacks, there was an unseemly amount of gloating in Greece, as well as outright celebration. "Serves them right" was a too-common sentiment. Greeks, and not all of them on the hard left, offer the usual complaints against the U.S., not forgetting to cite Kyoto, the International Criminal Court, and globalization (seen as an assault on the Third World rather than a boon to it). Terrorism has a "root cause," and that is "international poverty," which America does too little to address. The country is a glutton for oil, which is all Washington cares about in the Middle East, no matter what it says about security, stability, peace, and freedom.





An idea of how far the scales are tipped against America among the Greek elites may be seen in the comment of a journalist—the same one who badgered me about sensitivity to November 17: During the Kosovo war, his position was that Milosevic was a brutal dictator who deserved removal, but that the American action was contrary to international law. This, he explained, with a certain twinkle, made him a pro-American apologist in the eyes of many of his friends and colleagues—even to suggest that the goal of restraining the Serbs was just. If this is what passes for a pro-American toadyism in Greece . . .

But condolences for the dead of 9/11, expressed over the recent anniversary, were numerous and heartfelt. A mov-

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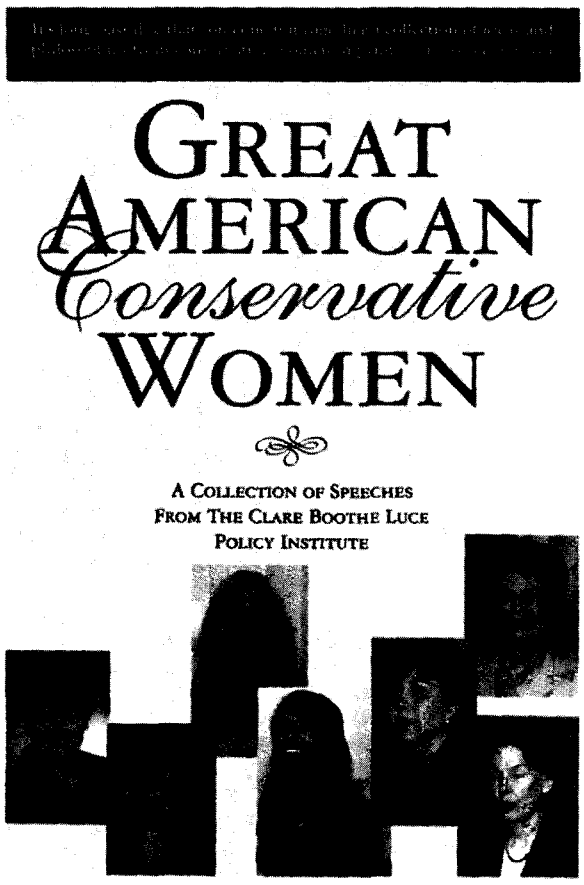
ing ceremony was held at the U.S. consulate in Thessaloniki, involving both local and national officials, and including the chanted prayers of black-hatted Orthodox clerics. Indeed, moving ceremonies were held all over Europe. And this raised a point that is slightly awkward to make: Some in Europe, as elsewhere, are perfectly happy with America as a victim nation, brought low by mass murder. They may be slightly less happy with America as a self-defending nation—a people willing to do something about it. Jacques Chirac's eyes fill with tears when he remembers the dead of September 11; his expression turns harder when it comes to steps designed to prevent future September 11s.

Even so, a little talk—a little arguing, insisting, and cajoling—can go a long way. Take the U.N. (please, our conservative Henny Youngmans might say). At every turn, Greeks are quick to mention the U.N., and, more particularly, the insufficient American deference to that body. They seem unused to hearing a well-grounded skepticism about the U.N. You can make the old Solzhenitsyn point, that this body is not so much the united nations as the united governments, or regimes. It is only as good as the governments that compose it. Furthermore, the U.N. is an organization the head of whose human-rights commission is Syria; the next head is scheduled to be Libya. Can you forgive a person, or a country, for being less than reverential about a body like that? And really, when you get down to it, Kofi Annan and the U.N. are not responsible for the safety and security of the American people; the president and the American government are. No American would begrudge any other country—Greece, for example—the right to defend itself, however it could. And you say it is illegitimate to go it alone? Can any civilized nation or person be sorry that Menachem Begin went it alone, in 1981, when he took out the Iraqi (and French) nuclear reactor, much to the displeasure of the entire world, including the United States—the Reagan-led United States, at that?

Again, heads may nod, and a certain understanding dawn, even if persuasion is not complete. It seems a sad fact that many of the Americans whom Greeks and other Europeans encounter are on the left. They are a parade of professors, journalists, and others, who may share the very assumptions and prejudices of local anti-Americans. Susan Sontag seems widely read, and she is distressingly widely quoted. Before arriving in Greece, I was told that if I, as a NATIONAL REVIEW editor, showed up without horns and a tail, that itself would be a victory. It is surely salutary for a European audience to hear a forthright, Republican-leaning American voice every now and then—if only to understand how such as Reagan and George W. Bush can be elected in the Land of Sontag (and Chomsky).

It should be remembered, too, that, even in a robustly anti-American country like Greece, there are reservoirs of support (or even dissent, you may call it). A friend of mine pointed out that there is a "red-state" Europe just as there is a "red-state" America—a population whose views withstand the



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contradiction and censure of the dominant classes. It was remarkable to see an older Greek man rise at a forum to say, "I'd like to show you the greatest gift I have ever received in my life." He then reached into a bag and jammed on his head an "FDNY" cap (representing the Fire Department of New York). To be rather Agnewesque about it, this might not have gone down well with the professors and editorialists; but it brought at least one grin.

'THE ISRAEL OF THE BALKANS'

On the northwestern border of Greece is Albania, a country that experienced the worst that Communism had to offer. For 50 years, it was a virtual dungeon, a kind of European North Korea, with no one coming in and no one getting out. So pure a Communist was the dictator, Enver Hoxha, that he broke from both Moscow (in 1961) and Peking (in 1978), judging them dangerously liberal. In the last years, Albania suffered near-famine.

Now, however, it is struggling to rejoin the world, and the country is as good a friend as America has in Europe, if an unfortunately powerless one. Albanian fondness for America is longstanding, going back to at least 1913, when Woodrow Wilson declared that the country should go its own way, have its independence, instead of being carved up by its neighbors. Albanians speak of Wilson as if he had been president yesterday.

■

Albania is struggling to rejoin the world, and it is as good a friend as America has in Europe, if an unfortunately powerless one.

■

Shortly after Communism fell in 1991, Secretary James Baker made a visit, and he was thronged by cheering, weeping, practically delirious Albanians in the main square of Tirana, the capital. Some even kissed his car. Adding to the regard for America was the U.S. role in the Yugoslav war. Whereas Greeks are likely to decry American intervention—anywhere—Albanians are likely to plead against American withdrawal or disengagement of any kind, seeing U.S. forces as the only thing between humanity and the beast. In the present war on terror, Albanians are so supportive of America that other Europeans have sneered at them, "You're the Israel of the Balkans!" I suggest, using a trite American political phrase, that the country ought to wear this as a badge of honor.

Albania is often cited as a Muslim nation, and it is true that a majority of its citizens profess Islam. But this is misleading. For one thing, Balkan Islam is apt to be nominal, and if it is not, it is of a distinctly non-Saudi, tolerant style. For another, the main "religion" of Albania is something called "Albanianism," a national feeling or devotion intended to thwart clashes among Muslims, Orthodox, and Catholics. The Saudis and other Gulf Arabs, however, are doing their best to radicalize and thus destabilize the country. They spread money around, virtually bribing mothers to veil their daughters, and to send their sons to Islamic schools, often far away. If those sons do go, they come back changed, frighteningly. Throughout Albania, Gulf Arabs have refurbished madrassas long disused: The price for such physical refurbishment, of course, is an adherence to Wahhabist ideology.

Most local analysts do not believe that Albania will be sucked in: Their Islam is too different, and they wish desperately to be integrated into Europe. If all goes well, Albania will have its EU membership in 20 years. Right now, it is the poorest country in Europe, "except possibly for Moldova," one journalist notes. (This reminds me of the old saying in Arkansas: "If it weren't for Mississippi . . .") In truth, Albanians would rather deal with Americans than Europeans, on the grounds that Americans are more straightforward, more direct, less slippery. Certainly the Albanian intelligentsia—and, yes, there is one (as more people will realize once Ismail Kadare wins the Nobel Prize in literature, as he almost undoubtedly will)—is with America, and baffled at the anti-Americanism in other parts of the continent. One Albanian journalist recounts to me his experience on a panel with an editor for *Le Monde*. Wide-eyed, shaking his head, he remembers that this man was not only pro-Castro, pro-Chavez, but perilously close to pro-bin Laden.

It is becoming axiomatic that the U.S. should hunt where the ducks are—should seek its friends where they exist. In Europe, those friends are readily found in the formerly Communist countries, where an appreciation of America is keener. One Albanian suggests that the very concept of "the West" needs adjusting. Consult a map. To begin with, Prague is west of Vienna. (This is one of the great party questions having to do with geography. The favorite in America is: Which is farther west—Reno or L.A.? The answer, of course, is the unexpected.) Athens has always been considered a Western capital, a NATO capital: It is east of Sofia, Budapest, Warsaw, and all three Baltic capitals, just to name a few. There is every evidence that George W. Bush grasps this. This president is no fan of state dinners, which perhaps keep him up past his bedtime, and in an annoying tuxedo. He has only held two in his entire time as president: the first for the president of Mexico, and the second, last summer, for the president of Poland. That is "no accident," as the Marxists say.

This country has friends in Europe, even where those friends are outnumbered, or outshouted. They should be encouraged; others should be engaged. "Public diplomacy," to use the going euphemism for old Information Agency work, can only do so much. But it can do something. Anti-Americanism can be muted, and pro-Americanism can be emboldened. "Don't scuttle the Pacific," MacArthur liked to say. There is no need to scuttle Europe. Divide it, perhaps. Talk to it, coax it, bat it around a little—definitely. And whenever you are feeling low about our European cousins, remember the Double-Headed Eagle—the symbol of the Albanian nation. They remember you. **NR**

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By Rob Long

Candidates' Diaries The International Multilateral Edition™

From the *Tagebuch* of Gerhard Schroeder:

. . . Vell, now iz a bick mess dat has been made from dis idiot comment from Frau Däubler-Gmelin about how der American President Georg W. Butch iz zis close to a Hitler, vich may be true, if I am being *vollständig* honest, and I speak as a Deutsche Socialist, so I know from dat. You know vat I mean, *nein*? Butch iz a very typical type ov dat kind ov President—popular, *stark*, politically clever, and, of course, *vertiefung organisiert*—and a change from the previous American Führer, when it was all just a big *durcheinandergebracht* mess mit de *Ich glaube Ihren Schmerz* all de time und de *berühren Sie meinen Penis* to the Jewess in his office. I mean, seriously. *Mein Gott!* So in one sense, I think, I should be *dankbar* that here ist an American Führer mit *Kugeln*, but on de ozzer hand, vat's up all de time mit de Iraq thing? Und de truth iz dat I barely got zrew the whole election *Verwirrung* as it waz, mitout all de trouble mit Frau Däubler-Gmelin's *indiskret* comments. I mean, seriously. Vat now? I know vor und fact dat Chirac vill eventually surrender to de Blair-Butch vay of seeing dings—dey always do surrender, de *Französisch*—und dat leaves me all *allein*. Vat a *Zwangslage*! Oy! I cannot stop vishing it vas Al Gore who vas der Führer und not dis Butch . . .

From the Diary of Saddam Hussein:

. . . bluffing, of course, right? Of course he is. Right? I mean, he has to be, right? Right? This whole thing makes no sense otherwise, right? Right?

From the Diary of Tony Blair:

. . . because at the very least, with him I get to be the cautious statesman holding back the American cowboy. Whereas with Gore, good Lord, I think I'd have to wear a coloured shirt or something to distinguish . . .

. . . at least of the respondents who expressed a preference as regards regime change. In the earlier focus groups, of course, there was considerable caution expressed about the use and abuse of American military superiority, especially among key female segments. And as the weeks continued, I think, my male approval numbers (never very high to begin with) began to climb ever so slightly—in the north counties especially; rural areas less so—so that when I began to formulate policy in re: Iraq, I was already building steam among key male and female subgroups. Also, I think it's probably the right thing to do. We'll see how the numbers work out . . .

From the Diary of Kofi Annan:

. . . which was a great and powerful relief to me, to have the letter from Iraq in hand, and—this is important—it was signed in ink by the Iraqi foreign minister, which to me sent the very crucial message that they were serious . . .

. . . which were excellent, served with a *beurre blanc* that, to my tastes, was just a touch too acidic for scallops at this time of year. The wines—a very old but still assertive Bâtard-Montrachet—were all carefully chosen, but they were perhaps too plentiful, for I fear that my ringing calls to end world poverty and hunger might have fallen on tipsy ears, mine included! Anyway . . .

From "Guess What? I'm Still Not Dead Yet" by Jimmy Carter:

. . . pounded a nail right into the fleshy part between my right index finger and my thumb. I cursed loudly, I'm sorry to say, and shouted to Rosalynn to be more careful in the future, and she just looked at me with that infuriatingly blank expression she uses when she doesn't want to acknowledge things that are going on in our relationship . . .

. . . finally started to make sense to me, after his disorganized and hapless presidential campaign. I fervently hope that he runs again, and that when he does, he'll be more forthcoming about his views, which seem so much more in line with mine . . .

From the *Agenda* of Jacques Chirac:

. . . tiny *morceaux* of the delicious macaroon still clinging to my *chemise* in an irritating fashion, like a lover who cannot leave one after an afternoon of lovemaking. The whole situation was absurd—me, in the halls of government, *un homme d'état*, with tiny, crispy *miettes* all over my shirt. I moistened one of my *doigts* and carefully lifted each *morceau* from the fabric, finishing by placing the fingertip into my mouth and once again enjoying the sophisticated taste of the *macaron de framboise* that I had enjoyed so recently . . .

. . . is okay with us, provided the wording is right. And if we invade, we'll insist on marching into Baghdad first. We have these new desert-warfare uniforms that are sensational . . .

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Being Lee Bollinger

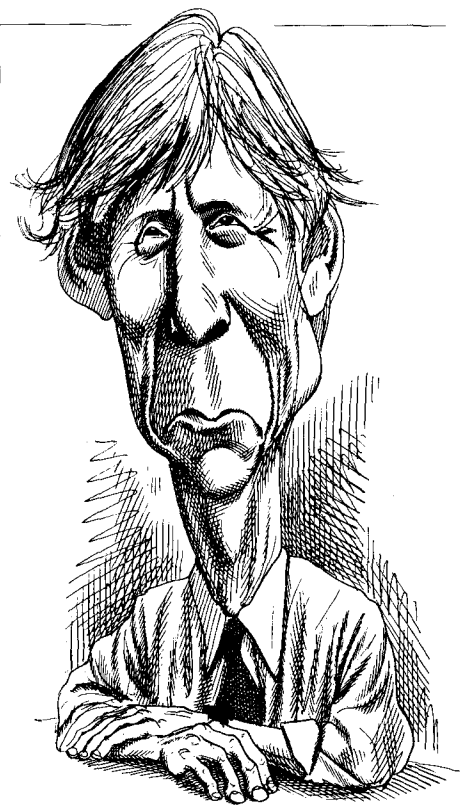
The very model of a modern college president

MATTHEW CONTINETTI

LEE BOLLINGER, the recently installed president of Columbia University, is used to praise. *Newsweek* labeled him an exemplar of a "new, visionary breed of college presidents." In *The New Yorker*, Nicholas Lemann wrote that "if you were called upon to invent a perfect university president, you couldn't do better" than Bollinger. And in an article entitled "A Renaissance Man at Columbia's Helm," the *Christian Science Monitor* cooed that beneath the college president's "gentle voice and unassuming manner lies a powerful legal counterpuncher."

Why all the approbation? There are two reasons. The first is that Bollinger is a capable administrator. For example, when he served as president of the University of Michigan, he saw through the creation of a new Life Sciences Institute—a project with a hefty price tag of $700 million. But the second, and more important, reason is political. He represents a new type of university president, one whose notoriety stems not from his work as a public intellectual or even his prowess as a fundraiser, but from the left-wing causes with which he is associated. If the Supreme Court decides to hear arguments in *Gratz* v. *Bollinger* and *Grutter* v. *Bollinger* this fall, not only will the University of Michigan's affirmative-action policies be in the spotlight, but so will the chief defender of those policies—Lee Bollinger. With his newly acquired prominence as the head of an Ivy League university, and with the upcoming zero-hour in a five-year court battle over the future of affirmative action, Bollinger is poised to become one of the most recognized university figures in the country.

All this should be enough to cause substantial heartache for conservatives, especially those who are familiar with Bollinger's record. The 56-year-old graduate of the University of Oregon and Columbia Law has a history of associating the good of his students with whatever leftish cause is currently garnering national attention. The typical result of this campus crusade for political correctness is a diminution of the idea of liberal education. Nicholas Lemann has it wrong: By any traditional standard, Lee Bollinger is the worst college president in America.



Lee Bollinger by Roman Genn

A clerk for Chief Justice Warren Burger in the 1970s, Bollinger made his debut on the national political scene during Robert Bork's Supreme Court confirmation hearings in 1987. Having recently been appointed dean of the University of Michigan Law School, Bollinger—the author of several books on free speech—argued before the Senate that Bork's interpretation of the First Amendment could lead to an eventual rollback of legal precedent. Bollinger's testimony was one of the many blows that defeated Bork's nomination. And one thing became clear after Bollinger's testimony: He did not hold scholarship to be more sacred than politics.

You see, Bollinger himself knows a thing or two about restricting free speech. A year after his testimony against Bork, the University of Michigan became mired in controversy when its governing body adopted a stringent speech code, which stipulated that speech offensive to an individual on the basis of race, religion, sexual orientation, gender, etc. was a punishable offense. The code was in effect for only 15 months—it was struck down as unconstitutional by a federal court—but a number of students were nonetheless penalized for offensive speech. As *Boston Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby has reported, one student was punished simply "for saying that 'he had heard that minorities had a difficult time in [a] course and . . . were not treated fairly.'"

Where was Bollinger during all this? As dean of the law school, he was in a perfect position to speak out against the code. But throughout the code's short, unhappy life, Bollinger said nary a word about it. "The failure of the dean of a law school, especially one with an expertise in the First Amendment, to speak up against a patently unconstitutional speech code is a blight on his record that should be mentioned until he explains himself," says William Rice of the American Academy for Liberal Education. "It does raise the question of what he's been willing to tolerate."

Bollinger has said that he always opposed the code, but in a 1989 interview with the Associated Press he sent mixed signals. When asked to predict how the circuit court would rule, Bollinger answered: "The case law on what speech can be restricted is quite unclear. . . . Should the university be the place in society where there is ultimate protection of free speech, or is it a place where you want to preserve civil-

Mr. Continetti is a senior at Columbia University.

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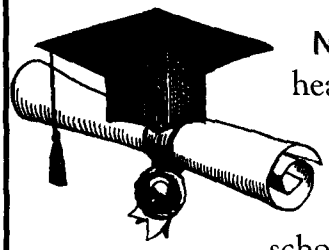
NATIONAL REVIEW's Top Schools



NATIONAL REVIEW heartily recommends all the schools promoted in this issue. In fact, we included many of these schools in the last edition of *The National Review College Guide.*

The schools featured in this issue merit NATIONAL REVIEW's (hearty!) recommendation because each has curricular common sense (they respect the tradition of the West), a dedicated teaching staff (faculty are exceptional and readily available to students), an administration with a sense of purpose, congenial quality of campus life, and supervised student life.

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages all our student subscribers, as well as their parents, to call, write, and visit the schools in this issue. Remember, in this day and age of Political Correctness, it's never too early to begin the search for the "right" education.

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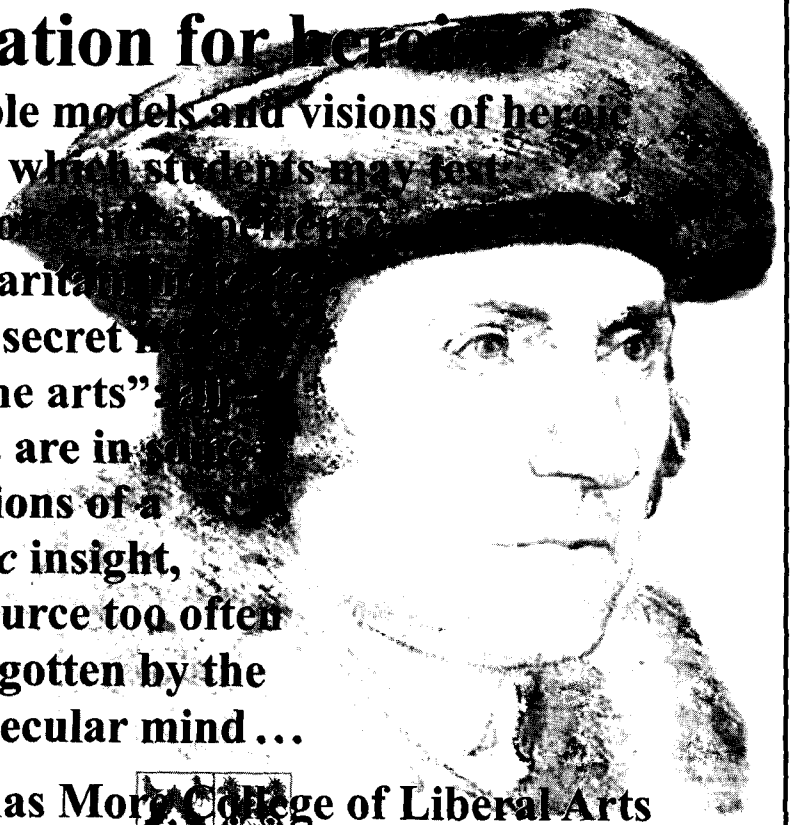
As Jacques Marita[illegible] poetry "is the secret [illegible] each and all the arts" [illegible] the disciplines are in [illegible] sense translations of a [illegible] common *poetic* insight, an intuitive source too often ignored or forgotten by the rationalistic, secular mind . . .



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ity and discourse? Those are two very different models, both with strong appeals."

Bollinger's ambivalence toward the speech code might not have made him any friends with the civil-liberties crowd, but it didn't hurt his career. After a brief sojourn as provost of Dartmouth, he was named president of the University of Michigan in 1996. Returning to Ann Arbor, he was greeted by the twin lawsuits known as *Gratz* (charging discrimination under the guise of affirmative action, at the university) and *Grutter* (ditto, at the law school).

The new president's response was to mount one of the most aggressive defenses of affirmative action yet. Bollinger argued that affirmative action was not just one way to make sure minority students get an education, but also the *only* way to achieve the true end of education: diversity. "This principle of [affirmative action] is a deep part of the educational philosophy of American higher education," Bollinger told the *Christian Science Monitor* last year. "Without the diversity it provides, the character and the quality of our great public universities would decline."

It is on this point that Bollinger has staked the life of affirmative action: that education without a racially diverse student body isn't education at all, and, further, that a system of discrimination based on racial preferences is the only means to achieving a racially diverse student body. And it isn't intellectual diversity that the president is talking about, nor is it religious diversity, nor even political. It is simple, unalterable, banal skin color that Bollinger says must be diversified in order to provide students with a worthy education.

A poll conducted by the *Michigan Daily*, the university's student-run paper, found that a majority of students there opposed affirmative action. But elite opinion continues to dominate discussion of racial preferences, and Bollinger's man-of-the-people dealings with undergraduates inoculate him from criticism. In 1997, for example, just a few months after he became president, a large crowd of revelers formed outside his mansion, celebrating Michigan's football victory over Penn State. Bollinger opened his doors and invited the students—*all of them*—inside to celebrate.

Bollinger must have a love of strangers who occupy his personal space, because after 30 anti-sweatshop activists stormed his office in 1999 he told the *New York Times* that the activists were "terrific students . . . They're just the kind of students you want on your campus. They were interested in a serious problem, they were knowledgeable about the problem, and they really wanted to do something about it."

The problem with Bollinger's approach to education is that because its focus is on political activity, there's a decline in basic academic seriousness. The *Ann Arbor News* reported that Bollinger's convocation at the University of Michigan last year was significant for such helpful advice as "Be comfortable with your ignorance," "Don't let yourself be trapped by the natural wish for the answer," and "Don't underestimate the benefits of putting things off until the last moment." And when the *New York Times* education supplement recently asked Bollinger what students should get out of college, he replied, "The university is about being able to move intellectually within a whole array of views. . . . It's actually a quite frightening experience. The world will always be for you a more difficult and complicated place than perhaps you would like it to be."

That must have been the message that Bollinger was trying to send when he refused to condemn the heckling and catcalling that greeted Ward Connerly when the anti-preferences activist addressed Michigan students in 1998. Indeed, Bollinger's intellectual and administrative stance capitulates to the Left whenever it is politically expedient. "University presidents should be strong," says Matthew Schwartz, a former editor of the *Michigan Review* who was once a student of Bollinger's. "And Bollinger wasn't." If Lee Bollinger is indeed the future of American higher education, then college students face a future bereft of important principles like freedom of speech and equality under the law. **NR**

Stop, Thief!

The trials of conservative publications on campus

MELISSA SECKORA

ONE day last October, the staff of *The Primary Source*, a conservative magazine at Tufts University, painted the cannon on campus. They did so with the slogans "God Bless America" and "Liberty and Justice for All," in honor of the victims of September 11. Painting the cannon is a tradition at Tufts. Typically, a group paints the cannon, then keeps at least one member nearby, to ensure that the cannon "stays painted" for at least 24 hours.

On this night, Sam Dangremond, the magazine's editor, was standing by—and three members of a student group calling itself the Coalition for Social Justice and Nonviolence sprang him. Two of the hooded assailants wrestled him to the ground while a third scrawled on the image of an American flag painted on the cannon. Dangremond pressed assault charges. A university disciplinary panel handed the three attackers a Probation 1 violation—a slap on the wrist typically given for public intoxication. Two of the assailants appealed and were let off by administrators. Not a hint of wrongdoing remained on their records.

Dangremond's case brought increased attention to *The Primary Source*. Within four months, the magazine lost 4,300 copies to theft and 600 copies to vandalism, worth about $2,000 in printing costs. "All of a sudden the entire campus was paying attention to what we printed," Dangremond says. "More people took offense, and more copies were stolen."

In recent times, conservative publications on campus have suffered an unprecedented amount of what might be called censorship by theft. And hardly anyone appears to be bothered. Most irritating is the lack of response from

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college administrators who apparently care more about political correctness than about the freedom and dignity of students. All over the country, an ugly illiberalism is showing its face.

At Tufts, *The Primary Source* has been the subject of repeated harassment. Eighteen separate complaints were filed against it and its staffers in the last school year. For example, the magazine poked fun at the Student Labor Action Movement (SLAM) and its feminist leaders, for wearing tight, revealing tank tops as their official uniform. Iris Halpern, the leader of SLAM, filed a sexual-harassment suit against the *Source*. A hearing was held before the Committee on Student Life, where Halpern claimed—citing Tufts policy—that the magazine had "the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with [her] work or academic performance or of creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive environment in which to work or learn." The committee had the backbone to dismiss Halpern's charges. But that was not the end of it.

Letters from students immediately appeared in the *Tufts Daily*. "[I] will not allow the *Source* to degrade and harass women while hiding behind the mantle of free speech," wrote one student. "As a person of color, I am fearful how this lack of discretion may affect the minority community on campus," wrote a Wendy Tang. The Tufts Feminist Alliance went so far as to distribute flyers that read: "Warning: *The Primary Source* Is Violent Towards Women." Dangremond believes that it was Halpern and her cohorts who defaced 600 copies of the *Source* with "Imagine a Campus Free from Sexism" stickers.

After the *Source* published an issue on affirmative action—against—the Pan-African Alliance, another Tufts student organization, began a campaign of theft. In an e-mail obtained by Dangremond, the group's president essentially described a meeting where members planned to steal thousands of copies. Although campus police were able to verify that the group was in fact guilty, the only reaction from university officials came in the form of a mass e-mail sent by president Lawrence Bacow: "While I will defend the right to publish, I believe that a line can be drawn between legitimate criticism of an individual's ideas and personal invective designed to hurt."

At the University of California, Berkeley—home of the vaunted Free Speech Movement—the situation is little different. Last February, 3,000 copies of *The California Patriot* were stolen from a storage space located in the office of the Berkeley College Republicans. At issue was an article in which the *Patriot* referred to MEChA, a "Chicano" organization, as a "student-funded hate group." The article publicized MEChA's mission statement, which includes a desire to reclaim the American Southwest for the "Aztecs" and decries the "gringo invasion of our territories." While MEChA has denied involvement in the theft, *Patriot* staffers have been harassed by its members, and a few have received death threats.

■

All over the country, an ugly illiberalism is showing its face.

■

Kelso G. Barnett, the magazine's publisher, says that he doubts the case is still being investigated despite the fact that an eyewitness places MEChA leaders at the scene of the crime. And aside from a sympathetic statement released by the university's chancellor, Robert Berdahl, Kelso hasn't heard a thing from the administration since early March. "Thugs breaking into our office and stealing our conservative—to them dangerous—magazines was just another example of how Berkeley has gone from upholding free speech to squelching it," says Barnett.

Shortly after the Berkeley incident, theft and vandalism hit the campus of Arizona State University. Staffers of the *Collegiate Conservative* discovered that a portion of their press run had been burned in a garbage can. "We've only printed five issues, and already burning the paper has happened twice. Papers also go missing too quickly," says Daniel Moody, the paper's editor. He argues that since the *Conservative*'s November 2001 debut, ASU has attempted to shut it down. It started when the vice provost for administrative services, Mernoy Harrison, gave janitors permission to throw stacks of the *Conservative* away if they found them sitting on the ground. Moody found this frustrating given that there is no rule against stacking papers on the ground, instead of in distribution bins, for easy pickup. "The university even admitted to me that there is not a rule against stacking papers on the ground." What's more, an official within the student media department told Moody that the school would not sanction the *Conservative* because doing so would "take away from our advertising revenues"—revenues ASU earns by selling ads for the *State Press*, a so-called "independent morning daily" that is actually one of the school's "auxiliary departments."

Over to Florida. On March 27, several hundred copies of *The Gator Standard* were stolen from the main distribution bin at the university in Gainesville. The same thing had happened the week before when Adam Guillette, the *Standard*'s managing editor, was distributing the paper on campus with his co-workers. "A bunch of neo-hippies called us names— 'Adam's a fascist, Adam's a neo-Nazi,'" says Guillette, a libertarian Jew. "They were tearing up our papers, slapping them out of people's hands." One *Standard* distribution bin was found across town a couple of weeks later. It appears that the "neo-hippies" took issue with a March 11 story Guillette ran on the university's Democrat-heavy poli-sci department.

University officials took issue, too. Guillette says that one of his reporters tried to interview a political-science professor about the Middle East. "My comments may be too liberal for *The Gator Standard*," were the words the professor's secretary passed along to the reporter. When a second reporter tried to interview another poli-sci professor, she was informed, "I don't have anything against your paper, but the department told me I am not allowed to talk to anyone from *The Gator Standard*." Guillette is reluctant to provide names—and for good reason. He explains, "I will say on the record that

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members of our staff have said that their political-science professors clearly were not thrilled with our actions, and as a result, some staff members have been forced to hide the fact that they are involved with the paper from their professors."

At the University of Texas, the conservative journal *Contumacy* is stolen with appalling frequency. "Every time we publish we lose 30 percent of our papers," says editor Robert Jung. "We've filed complaints and police reports. We even gave the university leads to people we thought might be involved. Nothing ever came of it. We're losing a lot of money." Jung says that, along with theft, shouting down speech is part of a long-running tradition of censorship at UT.

One striking example of this can be found in *Contumacy*'s coverage of an incident involving Justice for All, a pro-life group that had a permit to hold a rally on campus in January, and a professor, Dana Cloud, who showed up with a bullhorn to disrupt the group's speaker. Jung and four other students representing conservative groups on campus immediately went to get help and were told that nothing would be done to stop Prof. Cloud. "We didn't find President Larry Faulkner, but I was able to speak to his deputy, Jim Vick," says Jung. "I spoke with him about our concerns that the free-speech guidelines weren't being enforced and that what the liberal activists were doing was against the rules. He told me 'a policy decision had been made' not to enforce the guidelines."

In the last twenty years, on campuses across the country, there have been hundreds upon hundreds of cases of censorship and harassment of conservative points of view. Stealing newspapers is only one of the many tactics employed by students on the left who believe that the right to free speech is the right to suppress what they view to be the wrong ideas of unreasonable people. Students on the right see things a bit differently. For these conservatives—remarkably cheerful participants in the war of ideas—the right to speech is the right to make their case for any number of things. They will keep doing it—theft and intimidation and all. **NR**

Plucking on My Mbira

The ultra-relativist world of ethnomusicology

JASON STEORTS

IMAGINE a college music department and all the familiar images come to mind: practice rooms containing Steinway pianos, orchestras playing Mozart and Beethoven, harmonic analyses of Bach chorales scrawled across chalkboards. What will not come to mind, unless you spend time in such places, is students discussing topics like "Music and Globalization," "Cultural Studies, Feminist Theory, and the 'New Musicology,'" "Performance and Popular Culture in South Africa," or "The Music of Bebop."

Yet discuss these things they do. Welcome to the world of ethnomusicology, sire of the courses named above. Ellen Koskoff, president of the Society for Ethnomusicology and a professor at the Eastman School of Music, defines her field as "a discipline that looks at all musics from all over the world and tries to understand them in their own contexts." And she means "all" literally: Ethnomusicologists study both non-Western music and the West's popular and folk tunes—Chinese opera and Willie Nelson and everything in between.

Interest in such music is not limited to the academy. According to the composer and author Patrick Kavanaugh, it has also infiltrated the worlds of composition and performance. "All I have to do if I want to get a piece of music out there," he says, "is study for about twenty minutes another culture, lift a mantra from some musical society, use it in the piece, be sure to put it in the title—call it the *Gamelan Symphony*—and I'm rich and famous."

That may sound far-fetched. It is not. Philip Glass's official website reports that, at the behest of the city of Melbourne, Australia, the composer has completed a "new work for organ, didgeridoo and narrator with text drawn from Aboriginal myths." Luciano Pavarotti continues to subject himself to the annual embarrassment of his "Pavarotti and Friends" concert, which in past years has found him singing alongside such luminaries as the Spice Girls and Meat Loaf. And who can forget the spectacle of Yo-Yo Ma, at work on his Silk Road Project, jamming with Kalahari bushmen?

But the intellectual support for such projects issues from the academy, where the champions of ethnomusicology are found. While the study of classical music still composes the bulk of music curricula, few music departments lack a sizeable number of "ethno" courses taught by resident specialists. Many universities boast ethnomusic groups—Eastman has student ensembles devoted to the Balinese gamelan and the Zimbabwean mbira—and some schools, such as UCLA and the University of Washington, even offer undergraduate degrees in ethnomusicology.

Much of this effort is praiseworthy, and it would be wrong to deny outright the value of looking beyond the Western classics. Jeffrey Babcock, dean of Boston University's School of Fine Arts, says, "I think there is a good deal to be learned about harmony, about rhythm, about melodic construction, about every part of music from what has happened in indigenous cultures throughout the world." And indigenous music has, at times, influenced Western composers. Debussy became enamored of the gamelan; American folk tunes inspired Dvorak; Puccini used pentatonic melodies in his operas; and contemporary microtonal composers find affinity with the music of northern India.

But ethnomusicology does not limit itself to the reasonable claim that culture influences music; rather, it holds that music cannot be understood as anything but a cultural phenomenon. Koskoff explains: "In order to understand what's important within a specific [musical] system, you have to do

Mr. Steorts is a senior at Harvard University.

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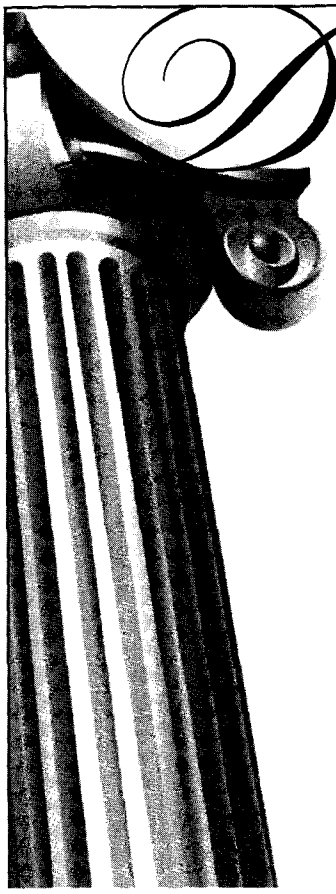

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field work; you have to talk to people for whom that music exists. We [ethnomusicologists] really do adhere to the cultural, anthropological principle of relativism."

And there's the rub: Music and anthropology are chained together, with the consequence that music from different traditions is incommensurable. The ethnomusicologist's frequent use of the plural "musics" suggests just that. In the vocabulary of ethnomusicology there is no Music, a capital-letter art form that can be evaluated by objective, universal standards. Rather, there are any number of "musics," each of which is essentially different from all the others. And because these "musics" cannot be compared, the ethnomusicologist declares that they are all of equal value. To place one above another is anathema; according to Veit Erlmann, a professor of ethnomusicology at the University of Texas, anyone making such a claim would be "committing intellectual suicide."

It is appropriate here to recall the furor directed at Saul Bellow in 1988 when he asked, "Who is the Tolstoy of the Zulus? The Proust of the Papuans? I'd be glad to read him." This sin against cultural sensitivity moved the academic Left to paroxysm. Of course the Zulus have no Tolstoy, came the reply: They have their own storytellers! The very idea of comparing them with Tolstoy was naïve at best and racist at worst. But why not ask Bellow's question? And why not add to it, "Who is the Beethoven of the Zulus?" The purpose of criticism is to make qualitative comparisons of artistic expression, and that effort presupposes objectivity in one's aesthetic values. It rejects the idea that what constitutes good art is simply a matter of personal tastes, be they instilled by upbringing, education, or—yes—culture.

Ethnomusicologists do permit critical comparisons *within* a given musical tradition. "We don't mean there's no criticism involved or there's no way of determining what a good performance is," says Koskoff, "but we use judgments that are insider judgments. Who cares if their music doesn't sound like Beethoven? That isn't what they care about. . . . When you learn what their aesthetic principles are, you can determine what a good performance is."

But if the starting point of criticism is the professed aesthetic principles of the musician, nothing prevents him from defining his principles so as to exclude any objection at all. The music is too simple? "Ah," says the musician, "simplicity *was* my aesthetic principle." Too repetitive? "My tradition finds repetition to be of supreme beauty." Too muddled? Too chaotic? Too abrasive? "No, no: My aesthetic values led me to seek just these qualities." No criterion is illegitimate, and criticism implodes upon itself.

By Ismael Roldan

Ethnomusicology's embrace of popular music is the perfect example of the dead ends to which such thinking leads. Consider the ancestry of today's pop. From the nihilism of grunge rock, to the choreographed mawkishness of the boy bands, to Britney Spears—whose record sales seem to vary in inverse proportion to the amount of clothing she wears—the popular icons that recording executives create *ex nihilo* are, in many ways, the bastard offspring of the classical tradition. Their music is built upon the system of diatonic harmony that prevailed from the late Renaissance to Schoenberg; their melodies derive from Western scales; their rhythms conform to classical meters. But because their music is cobbled together from the crassest, most banal instances of these structural elements, responsible critics condemn it as a kind of retrograde degeneracy.

Far be it from the ethnomusicologist, however, to join this condemnatory chorus. Relativist that he is, he happily bestows upon popular music a special value flowing from its unique aesthetic principles. So it is that Koskoff has kind words even about heavy metal: "You might be able to listen and hear that, sure, it's only one chord that Marilyn Manson is playing, but who cares? The thing that matters to them is that gritty texture."

She goes on to say that her own taste is for the Brandenburg Concertos. Browsing the private CD collections of ethnomusicology professors might reveal similar preferences. But the curious feature of their breed is its refusal to admit what is so intuitively obvious to the rest of us: that Bach is better than Metallica, and that any aesthetic principle which puts the electric guitar on a parity with the philharmonic orchestra is critically impotent. If ethnomusicologists can rejoice in *Billboard*'s top-ten chart, where *would* they draw a line? Suppose some cave-dwelling society decided that the highest form of aural beauty results from the crashing sound of stones heaved over a cliff's edge. Would ethnomusicologists say this "music" is as valuable as Beethoven's symphonies? Their reasoning, if consistent, would force them to that conclusion.

This reasoning is the product of broader intellectual trends flourishing in what critic Roger Kimball calls the "pot-house atmosphere of elite cultural institutions." Ethnomusicology smacks of the Left's perennial effort to revise the literary and artistic canon so that it gives proportional representation to the usual litany of "disenfranchised" groups. But the roots of relativism run deeper than canonical revisionism. It is a rationale that, as Kimball says, attempts to "submerge logical distinctions in sociological distinctions," in

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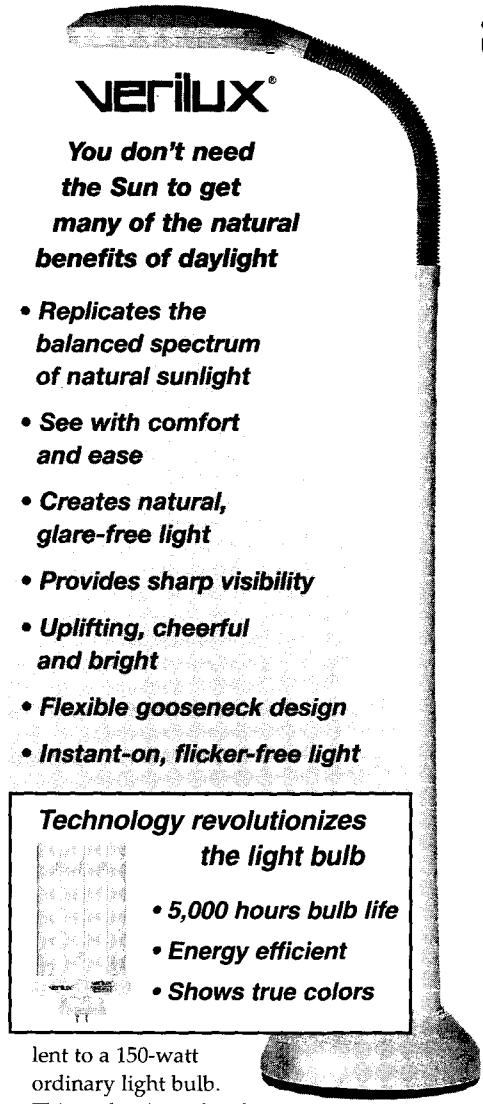

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fields from the sciences to the arts. The University of Texas's Erlmann confirms this: "I think that nobody any longer believes that what we consider to be knowledge or truth exists independently of the practices and discourses about such things as truth or knowledge." And there you have it: Truth is relative.

Which is, of course, demonstrably false where scientific fact is concerned: That the earth orbits the sun doesn't exactly depend upon the "practices" and "discourses" of the astronomer. Admittedly, aesthetic values originate in the human mind. But so does political philosophy—and this doesn't lead the political philosopher (if he is taking himself seriously) to say that a person's rights should vary relative to his culture. On the contrary, he searches for principles that any rational person would accept.

■

The fact that the West has a Beethoven is something of which we should be unabashedly proud.

■

So why shouldn't art aspire to similar universality? Koskoff says that composers who think they make art for art's sake are "in denial"; but composers have thought this, and do think this, and will continue to think this. It is one of the great achievements of the West that its artists *can* think this, having created art that transcended the limits of culture more successfully than that of any other tradition. (Try comparing the number of piano recitals in Japan to the number of koto recitals in America.)

Doubtless, there is ample room for Music—as a singular with a capital "M"—to grow, and there is no reason that non-classical traditions cannot contribute to this process. But the fact that the West has a Beethoven is something of which we should be unabashedly proud. Those who teach in our colleges and conservatories would do well to recognize this—and to disabuse themselves of the idea that all music is created equal. **NR**

Leagues of Their Own

The delicate question of lesbians and softball

KATHRYN JEAN LOPEZ

"On road trips those who were dating roomed with one another and slept together." "Changing in the locker room made me feel *very* uncomfortable." "The issue was so pervasive at my school that I felt choked out."

That lesbians play softball is a terribly old stereotype, but few outside of college athletics have heard what it's like for a *non*-gay girl who wants to play the sport. If you're not crazy about your daughter showering in a very-far-away-from-don't-ask-don't-tell gym shower, high-school and college softball might not be for her. In *Diamonds Are a Dyke's Best Friend: Reflections, Reminiscences, and Reports from the Field on the Lesbian National Pastime*, Yvonne Zipter makes a compelling case that softball teams have long been the best way to meet lesbians. She quotes one woman's account: "I'm not saying all women who play softball are gay, but . . . if you think someone is gay and you don't have proof to satisfy your curiosity, [asking "Have you ever played softball?"] may be a solution."

Of course, when it's a recreational softball league for adults, that's no one's business. But it *is* an issue on high-school and college teams. Zipter cites another experienced player: "I met my first lover through softball . . . My daughter—she's eighteen—she plays softball. She has a girlfriend, too. They met playing softball in high school together."

Although experiences certainly differ—one coach at a private girls' school, for instance, says lesbian social pressure within softball is waning—the stereotype continues to ring true for many girls today. One woman—now 35—who has played softball since age six and works at a softball-related organization, says that of the hundreds of athletes and coaches she's worked with, "approximately ten" subsequently continued with softball professionally. Many of the women, she says, have independently given her the same reason for throwing in the towel: Oftentimes "not only was there incredible and persistent pressure put on them to participate in and join the lesbian community," but they sometimes were even "pressured to leave."

Another girl, from a conservative Catholic family, says she was clueless going into softball. "The older I got the more I began to realize that some of my teammates and close friends were lesbians or bisexual. . . . I noticed that as the competition advanced, the higher the percentage of lesbian players." She wondered, "Was I comfortable enough to be a 'softball player' in a new environment? Did I want that label on me at a new school?" (She eventually quit because of a shoulder injury.)

Still, with the exception of a few small, lesbian publishing houses (e.g., the now-defunct Firebrand Books, publisher of *Diamonds Are a Dyke's Best Friend*), you're not going to find too many people wanting to talk about the issue. In fact, whatever your morality and whatever your lifestyle, hardly anyone wants to touch the topic. As a result, few coaches—especially male coaches—are willing to talk about the L-word, for fear they will be construed as enemies of women's sports. In her book *Strong Women, Deep Closets*, openly lesbian former swimming and basketball coach Pat Griffin complains: "When anyone in women's sport has a grievance or when they want to explain why women's sport is not more popular, lesbians are always a vulnerable and convenient scapegoat."

So what exactly is the "lesbian problem"? Why can't some girls come out of the closet without straight girls and their parents getting all bent out of shape? As one college-sports insider puts it, "lesbian athletes are often clique-ish within their teams and can be sexually aggressive"—neither of which makes for team spirit. As the same (male) insider puts it: "The fact is that young, athletic college girls are, well, hot. The football players are going to hit on them and, hell, so did I. But their

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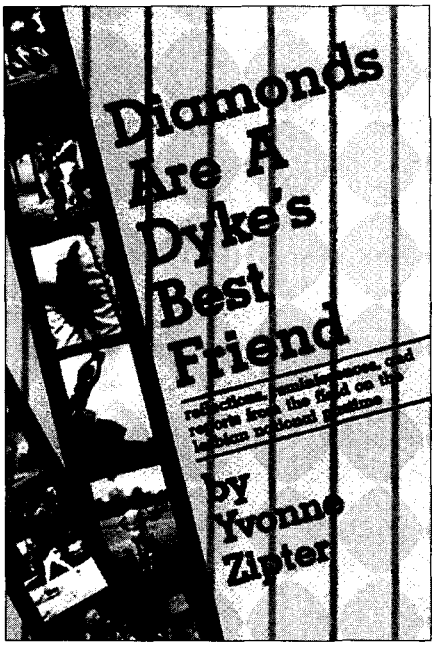
lesbian teammates are hitting on them, too, and what's unique about that is that those teammates share hotel rooms, showers, and locker rooms with them."

One college player reports: "It was uncomfortable to dress/undress around those teammates who you knew were gay. It's not that I had the fear that they were pursuing me—that is a line that most don't cross, going after straight people. It's just that I felt the same uncomfortableness that I would feel changing around a guy." Many other straight girls, she says, would never dream of showering with their team. Also, "there was locker-room talk, much like guys do . . . . The girls talk about nasty stuff also." She estimates that in the first team she played for, 50 percent of the team were practicing lesbians, and another 25 percent "were struggling with the issue, riding the fence." This is significant, she says, especially when you consider that female college athletes have "a strict schedule of classes, practices, weights, traveling, etc., and [therefore] little time for guys. As a college softball player you are always around your team." Just a few lesbians on a team can start a trend—whether it be a "lesbian until graduation" preference, or something more permanent.

This woman wound up transferring out of a large state school in order to be able to play softball while avoiding the softball culture. But when she called one particular small Christian college, she didn't get very far. "I told [the coach] my name and the university that I was leaving and explained to him my interest in his school. He cut my sentence off short and said, 'I'm sorry, but we don't need any of your type on our team. We are not that kind of team.' He hung up. He knew the school's rep; he had stereotyped me immediately and didn't even give me a chance to meet him. That hurt."

So what's the solution? Some schools have attempted banning open lesbians from their teams, but that rarely goes over well, at least publicly. Rene Portland, Penn State women's basketball coach, is known for her short-lived "no alcohol, no drugs, no lesbians" rule. The girl who switched schools because of the



'Have you ever played softball?'

atmosphere at her first school went on to a smaller school where the married coach consciously tried to recruit so that the usual lesbian cliques could not form. But even there, the girl says, the "team is now [two years later] about one-third gay. You just can't keep it out."

One male university athletic official—who, by the way, says he has no moral qualms about homosexuality—suggests a two-part solution. To straights, he says: "Become less homophobic, more tolerant." To gays, he says: "Throwing [gayness] in people's faces doesn't help nurture [tolerance]." But as an administrator, he still faces tough choices. He knows, for example, how to deal with a male coach who gets sexually involved with a female player: You fire him. But with lesbian coaches that's not so easy. "I just wouldn't know what to do," he says, if a lesbian coach were to become involved with a female player. "You've got to walk on eggshells with those issues. . . . People do not want to go there."

But these issues cannot forever remain below the public radar. It may, in fact, be impossible to change softball; but—at the very least—parents and players should know what they are getting into. At many schools, softball isn't just about wholesome athletic competition. To those families who think it is: buyer beware. **NR**

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Hang from the palms like Spanish moss,
Rehearsing their ahems,
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The way the Seminoles
Once fondly sharpened tomahawks
For white-meat casseroles.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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Separation Anxiety

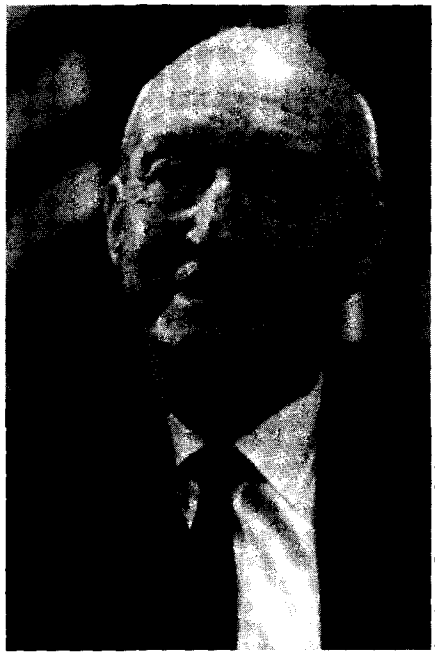
HADLEY ARKES

Separation of Church and State, by Philip Hamburger (Harvard, 560 pp., $49.95)

FELIX FRANKFURTER, nestled in the Supreme Court in the late 1940s, summed up the new orthodoxy taking hold in his circles: "We have staked the very existence of our country on the faith that complete separation between the state and religion is best for the state and best for religion." The language was high-flown, for Frankfurter was untethered now from anything in the text of the Constitution. The notion of separating religion and politics sprang, rather, from Jefferson's letter to the Baptists in Danbury, Conn., in which Jefferson famously spoke of a "wall of separation between Church and State."

But as Philip Hamburger shows in his meticulous and comprehensive study, the political arguments over "separation" describe a history that rather belies all the claims made for the meaning of that "principle" in our constitutional law: There was no concept of "separation" attached to the clauses on religion in the Constitution, and beyond that, the founding generation understood "separation" on terms strikingly at odds with the understanding held by the liberal apostles of separation in our own day. The religious dissenters in the 18th century sought to secure religious freedom by restraining the power of the government, but—as Hamburger sums it up—"the First Amendment, which was written to limit government, has been interpreted directly to constrain religion."

Mr. Arkes is a fellow in the Madison Program at Princeton University. His new book is *Natural Rights and the Right to Choose*.



Stan Stearns/Bettmann/Corbis

Justice Hugo Black

The First Amendment, in its opening clause, declared that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thanks to layers of judicial opinions, ordinary folk are often surprised now to learn that the first clause meant, in its spare language, that Congress would lay no hands on the subject: Congress would not interfere with the establishments of religion in the several states. The Congregational Church in Connecticut was supported by the laws and public funds, and that establishment would not be impaired by anything in the federal Constitution. Nor would there be any upheaval in the "liberal" regime in Maryland, which held that it was "the duty of every man to worship God"—and that every man should therefore have the choice of determining for himself which Protestant church he would attend, and support with his taxes.

The "separation" sought by the Baptists, Quakers, and other dissenters would protect them from being legally compelled to support another sect, "established" now as the religion sustained and favored by the state. But this kind of "separation" hardly meant a willingness to detach the law, or the polity, from religion. The Quakers were pacifists, and they wished to have some recognition, in the law, that they were rightly exempted from any obligations of military service. As for the Baptists, they would be ever reluctant to separate religion from politics, as they would be reluctant to detach morality from any other part of human life. As one Baptist writer put it, "religion is a universal principle and has to do with all life."

The impetus to "separation" in its modern sense did not arise until the middle of the 19th century. As Hamburger makes unmistakably clear, that movement has been connected, from that time to our own, to a patent anti-Catholic animus. From the Know-Nothings to the Ku Klux Klan, the aversion to Catholics was bound up with the politics of nativism. This persuasion found its most respectable incarnation in the Republican politics of the era of Ulysses Grant and Sen. James Blaine: There would be no funding for those sectarian parochial schools, in contrast to those wholesomely secular schools that shaped Americans in a kind of muscular "civic Protestantism." This proposal would eventually be incorporated in the so-called Blaine Amendment, which narrowly failed at the national level, but spawned a host of progeny in the states. Those progeny still linger in the law, and they are still being used by coalitions on the left to resist the movement toward school vouchers.

And yet, these Republicans were not the most radical exponents of separation. They were far from joining the clamor to rule out oaths of office, proclamations of thanksgiving, or chaplains in the military; nor were they willing to join the insistence that the mails

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be delivered on Sundays. The more radical movement for separation came late in the 19th century with the National Liberal League, which aimed at nothing less than the obliteration of religion from public life. In their own alternative to the Blaine Amendment, the Liberals sought to ban, from all levels of government, any aid, direct or indirect, to religious institutions or teachings.

But to grasp the sweep of the separationist program was to grasp at once how unreceptive the mass of Americans were to any such program. In the sweep of their opposition to all things religious, the Liberals swept as well to the rejection of all things moral. The same people who found their enemy in the religious tradition would see the same enemy at work in the laws that regulated the "vices" and obscene publications. The truly emancipated would move first to the "freedom of sexual discussion," then to sexual freedom itself; and in that move they would expose the libertinism that truly lay at their core. Not for nothing did some of their former allies brand them "the party of license," and with that split they came apart as a political force.

Or rather, they came apart in that incarnation, and waited to be assembled again in a more politic way; for there would always be a natural alliance between liberalism and radical hostility to religion. In the 1920s and 1930s, there would even be an exotic mixture of the Ku Klux Klan, the temperance movement, and populist liberalism. No one endowed this mixture with a higher veneer of respectability than Justice Hugo Black. His involvement with the Klan produced a minor scandal at the time of his appointment to the Supreme Court, but Black did not in the least apologize for his association with it. In a clever countermove, he turned the attacks on himself into a series of veiled threats against Catholics. To oppose him, he suggested, would mark a religious intolerance, which would only excite again the lingering hostility to Catholics.

With Black, that hostility to Catholicism could be clothed in constitutional doctrine, and applied with the savvy of a seasoned politician. The key moment for his statecraft came in 1947, with the celebrated *Everson* case. The Court in that case sustained a program in New Jersey that was paying for the busing of students to schools, even when they attended parochial schools. Even sophisticated Catholic observers, like John Courtney Murray, fastened on the result of this case and missed the principle. Black disarmed the Catholics, who were wary of his past, but in his opinion for the majority he built the separation of church and state into a new, reigning legal orthodoxy. As he sought to sum up the tradition of the American law, he noted that "neither a State nor the federal government can set up a church." But then he moved across the line into doctrines strikingly new: "No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion."

Some of Black's colleagues were in disbelief as Black tilted the outcome to the Catholics in this case: Black was content to conclude that there was no aid to religion in this case because the aid was given to the parents and children, not to the schools. But that reasoning was a façade, as everyone quickly recognized, and it left judges free to conclude, in later cases, that aiding the children and parents was, indeed, an indirect aid to parochial schools. In other words, the concession to the Catholics would eventually be retracted; but the principles Black and his colleagues grafted onto the law in 1947 would remain.

But Black's clever moves might, in the end, be unavailing. In our own day, even the liberal hostility to religion cannot hold up against the liberal deference to claims of "equality" and the charge of "discrimination." Young James Zobrest, in Tucson, Ariz., had been deaf since birth. Under federal and Arizona laws, he had been provided the aid of an interpreter in the public schools. For the ninth grade, however, his parents decided to shift him to Salpointe Catholic High School; and with that shift, a virtual concert of officials, local and federal, agreed that it would be unconstitutional to supply that aid. In 1993, the Supreme Court made its ruling: A young man was invested with certain rights of support under state and federal law, but those rights were removed when he chose a school with a religious character. Once "enabled," he was now "disabled," and solely on the ground of his religious commitments. To put it another way, there may be no obligation on the part of the federal government to provide aid to local schools, public or private. But if the government makes aid available to schools such as Exeter and Andover, and withholds the aid from schools such as Salpointe Catholic High School, it should be clear even to the dimmest minds that the law is attaching penalties or disabilities to people for no reason other than their religion.

Professor Hamburger is a model of judiciousness, and he prefers to let the judgments in this book spring from the material itself. He mutes his own critical voice, and permits the adversaries of religion to reveal themselves more fully by drawing out the unlovely implications of their arguments. I have stated the arguments emanating from his book with a sharpness that he himself has forborne. But my own regret is that he did not choose to bring together, with a culminating force, the strands of arguments he had assembled on this cardinal point: that there is finally, in the argument for separation, a deep moral incoherence. To insist on pushing religion into the private sphere—to treat it, as Justice Scalia says, on the same plane as pornography—marks a determination to reduce religion to the

DAWN

Welcome into my cell,
clear light of morning,
and blessed He who sent you—
everyoung victorious dawn.

Welcome, clear morning,
sister of the sun,
warming my earthen floor,
lighting my breviary.

You shine on every house,
on every tribe and kin;
welcome, clear morning—
whitethroated golden one!

—ANONYMOUS
(13th-century Irish monastic poem
translated by Richard O'Connell)

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domain of "beliefs" and "private truths." Which is to say, it reduces theology to a compendium of specious truths, or no truths at all. A people made suggestible to this understanding are a people who have been talked out of the truth, and the claims, of their own religions. The Creator and the universe, Abraham and Jesus, did not spring from the imagination of children reasoning anew each time. They were parts of a teaching that could be imparted communally because they could be conveyed in public and, by methods publicly accessible, understood. They acquired their force, not from the claim to be arresting fictions, but from the insistent claim that they are true.

In the name of a liberal, modern regime, the separationists brought forth a law that would no longer protect the free exercise of religion or respect the Jewish-Christian tradition. They have used the levers of the law, rather, for the sake of subjecting the religious to public penalties. In rendering all truths conventional, and reducing them to beliefs passionately held, they have blithely removed any ground of truth for their own positions. With a benign smile and a spirit of liberality, they have given us, in the style of Nietzsche, the triumph of the will. In a final irony, we find in America a highly religious people, with churches filled; a people who would never legislate for themselves the laws which now govern them on matters of religion. They are ruled in these matters by judges, who are disposed in the main to believe that the ancient truths, running back to Jerusalem and Athens, are no more than fictions. James Madison thought that religion was especially salutary for a republic, because it was altogether wholesome that a citizen in a republic begin with a respect for a law outside himself. But on matters of religion, the law has been reshaped by judges who are serenely detached now from the religious tradition, as they are detached from the understanding of the Founders and the Constitution they made. **NR**

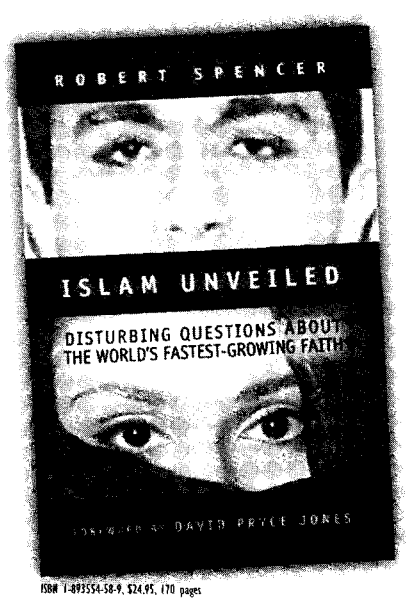
The Unreal Lincoln

KEN MASUGI

The Real Lincoln: A New Look at Abraham Lincoln, His Agenda, and an Unnecessary War, by Thomas J. DiLorenzo (Prima, 352 pp., $24.95)

To get an idea of how truly awful this book is, consider that its author sneers at what he calls some "pledge of allegiance to the central government." (He means, of course, the pledge of allegiance to the flag and "to the republic for

Mr. Masugi is director of the Center for Local Government at the Claremont Institute. He is writing a book on citizenship and multiculturalism.



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which it stands.") This offhand remark epitomizes Thomas DiLorenzo's feckless treatment of his subject, Abraham Lincoln and his place in the American political tradition. We should, nevertheless, treat this shabby work seriously, because it offers an occasion for reflection on the place of Lincoln and the Declaration of Independence in contemporary conservatism—which has been wary of both.

DiLorenzo, a professor of economics at Loyola College in Baltimore, claims to offer "a new look" at Lincoln, in contrast to the prevalent "myths" about him; but what he actually does is recycle the articulate pro-Confederate views of Jefferson Davis, Alexander Stephens, Edgar Lee Masters, and Claude Bowers. He charges Lincoln with being a racist, a war criminal, and the decisive centralizer of the constitutional order and destroyer of American liberties.

In making the charge of racism, DiLorenzo sounds like an especially nasty liberal. He frequently distorts the meaning of the primary sources he cites, Lincoln most of all. Consider this inflammatory assertion: "Eliminating every last black person from American soil, Lincoln proclaimed, would be 'a glorious consummation.'" Compare the nuances and qualifications in what Lincoln actually said: "If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means, succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery; and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost father-land, with bright prospects for the future; and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation." One need not be a Lincoln admirer to recognize that DiLorenzo is making an unfair characterization. DiLorenzo actually gets so overwrought that at one point he attributes to Lincoln racist views Lincoln was attacking.

DiLorenzo adopts as his own the fundamental mistake of leftist multiculturalist historians: confusing the issue of race with the much more fundamental one, which was slavery. Pulitzer prize-winning historian Don Fehrenbacher has carefully explicated the dilemma of principled statesmen of the antebellum era: Lincoln's Illinois was anti-slavery, but it also passed laws discriminating against blacks. This was not a paradox. The anti-slavery forces actually joined with racists to keep their state free of slavery, and also free of blacks.

These were treacherous waters for politicians to swim in. For Lincoln, a "universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded"; to do so would be to violate the principle of the consent of the governed. In disregarding the sentiments of the time and the anti-black rhetoric of Lincoln's opponents, such as Stephen Douglas, DiLorenzo ignores the political context of Lincoln's speeches. Lincoln promised only to put slavery "in the course of ultimate extinction," not to abolish it. He wanted a constitutional amendment to end slavery and would have compensated slaveholders; DiLorenzo obfuscates Lincoln's principled position, which left him scorned by abolitionists and slaveholders alike.

■

DiLorenzo obfuscates Lincoln's principled position on slavery.

■

Fortunately, we are not dependent on DiLorenzo for an understanding of Lincoln's political philosophy; Lincoln himself summarized it in his Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural. For Lincoln, the preservation of the equality of natural rights demands a strong government, but one limited in its powers. This founding principle leads politically to the need for consent of the governed, the basis of our republican government. But DiLorenzo maintains that the Declaration of Independence—the key text on these questions—was merely concerned with the independence of the several states, and that the states could therefore withdraw their initial consent to be governed under the 1787 Constitution. Citing the New England Federalists of the early 1800s, he argues that secession was always recognized as a legitimate, constitutional procedure. Indeed, for the Founders, "the most fundamental principle of political philosophy was the right of secession." But DiLorenzo is proposing a logical absurdity. Secession is the same as revolution, as secessionists must admit when pressed, and therefore no *legal* right of secession can exist. There is indeed a moral duty to rebel against an illegitimate government; the test of legitimacy is whether a government protects natural rights.

DiLorenzo then complains of the war measures Lincoln took after secession: military tribunals, restrictions on civil liberties, and the suppression of newspapers. But he doesn't mention the South's suppression of discussion about abolition, or the fact that Lincoln could not appear on the ballots of ten of the eleven states that were to make up the Confederacy. With such restrictions on liberties and elections, the South was basically a banana republic. As Forrest McDonald has noted, both North and South "found it necessary to suppress states' rights for the nonce and to centralize power."

DiLorenzo also contends that Lincoln violated international law in his "savage" conduct of the war. Not once does DiLorenzo entertain the thought that a disunited America might have become prey for the designs of European imperial powers, which would have put an end to the experiment in self-government. And as for the destruction caused by Sherman's march through Georgia, historian Victor Davis Hanson has observed: "It is a hard thing for contemporary liberalism to envision war as not always evil, but as sometimes very necessary—and very necessarily brutal if great evil is to disappear."

But why would Lincoln indulge in these criminal actions? Since he was a racist and had no great interest in freeing slaves, DiLorenzo concludes, his "real agenda" must have been the imposition of a "mercantilist/Whig" high-tariff economic system: "This is why both the federalist system and the Constitution created by the Founding Fathers had to be destroyed—so that Lincoln and the Republican Party could lord over the largest political patronage system ever created by any government on earth." The South's call for low tariffs became a demand for preserving an agricultural economy based on slavery. To view the conflict between North and South as primarily one of two incompatible economic systems obscures the central place of slavery.

The true target of DiLorenzo's anti-

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national fulminations is George Washington, the original unifier of America. When—well before the federal Constitution—Washington resigned his commission as general, he was already speaking of America as one country, one free nation. And, in this, he was simply echoing the Declaration of Independence, which speaks of "one people" and "our constitution."

Demagoguery like *The Real Lincoln* distracts us from understanding the origins of today's real enemy: the centralized bureaucracy, which is intimately connected with the nihilistic universities and interest factions. It was not Lincoln but the Progressives—Woodrow Wilson, John Dewey, Charles Beard—who created the real break with the Founders' limited government, by rejecting natural rights. Progressivism was based on the same historical-evolutionary brand of thought, dating back to Rousseau, that justified black slavery as the cornerstone of Confederate civilization. And Progressivism begat modern megastate liberalism.

For all its crudity, DiLorenzo's attack on Lincoln is at one with powerful and far more sophisticated influences on contemporary conservatism. Libertarians and traditionalists have desperately sought a weapon to fight the political and cultural outrages around us. In their opportunism they have chosen as their enemy a man who was, in fact, the greatest friend of the Founders' Constitution—which after all left future generations with slavery to confront. Some libertarians would not see a paradox in a liberty to own slaves and thus to enslave oneself: This is precisely DiLorenzo's position stripped of all its pretensions. Others on the right, such as Russell Kirk, Robert Bork, and Robert Kraynak, have criticized the Declaration for being French, nihilistic, or irreligious. But in two magnificent works, *Crisis of the House Divided* and *A New Birth of Freedom*, Harry V. Jaffa captured Lincoln's teaching about our founding principles. Jaffa demonstrated how tradition, majoritarianism, revelation, and latter-day states'-rights arguments cannot provide for liberty, human excellence, and republican limited government as well as the natural-rights teaching of the Declaration as sublimely articulated by Abraham Lincoln. **NR**

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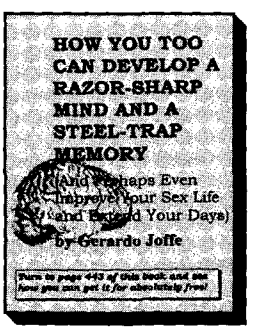
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Hiberno-Fascism

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

1916: The Easter Rising, by Tim Pat Coogan (Cassell, 192 pp., $29.95)

THE Easter Rising of 1916 is the central event in 20th-century Irish history. At noon on April 24 of that year, Easter Monday, a small group of violent separatists seized some key points in the city of Dublin and proclaimed a republic independent of Britain. After a week of bitter fighting the insurrection was put down. Most of its leaders were executed following brief courts-martial. Much of the city center had been destroyed by British shelling; 450 people had been killed and 2,614 wounded.

Though a military failure, the Easter Rising—more precisely, the British reaction to it—strengthened and, in the minds of many Irishmen, legitimized what Tim Pat Coogan delicately refers to as "the physical force tradition" in Irish Republicanism. That tradition might more accurately be called Irish fascism, with the Easter Rising as its beer-hall putsch. The consequences of the Rising, at any rate, were wholly malign. First came the Anglo–Irish "war" of 1919–21, in which the IRA (as the violent separatists were now called), under the command of Michael Collins, a veteran of the Rising, set about systematically murdering policemen and other "collaborators." The British authorities responded with clumsiness and occasional savagery. Partition and Home Rule followed, under terms that had been available in 1914, and would have been implemented but for the outbreak of the world war. Nothing had been gained by all the carnage, except a great deal of bitterness on both sides.

Dissatisfied with those terms, a dogmatic faction of Republicans then launched a civil war that sputtered on for a year till the majority of Irish people, sick of political violence, permitted their Free State government to end it with a ferocity equal to anything the British had employed. Adherents of "the physical force tradition"—those of them who survived the Irish firing squads—fled to America, Ulster, and Britain, to await better times. Those times duly arrived in the 1960s, with the Ulster "civil rights" campaign as a front for revivifying that odious tradition, and with the international terrorist movement for fellowship and support.

■

The Easter Rising spawned misery and bloodshed, to no good purpose.

■

You might think that, having spawned so much misery and bloodshed to no good purpose, the Easter Rising would be regarded by Irish people with embarrassment or shame. Not a bit of it. The Rising was seen, even by the participants, as a grand romantic gesture, a blood sacrifice for the ancient soul of Ireland; and so it has been preserved in folk memory and the educational system of the Irish Republic. The Rising is a totem, one of the foundation myths of modern Ireland, and none may call it the poisonous folly that it undoubtedly was.

Tim Pat Coogan is certainly not about to do so. A "green-diaper baby" whose father worked as an assassin under Michael Collins's command (a fact the author related with pride in his 1991 biography of Collins), Coogan has made a very nice living for himself by writing about Irish history from the Hiberno-fascist point of view. Ireland herself being a small market, he targets his books at the more gullible segments of the Irish diaspora, especially those descended from the losing side in the Irish civil war.

Coogan's account of the Rising therefore follows a predictable line. British policy was devious and malicious. The insurrectionists were gallant and soulful. (Coogan dwells lovingly on the sinister fantasist Patrick Pearse, and even includes one of his atrocious poems.) Constitutional nationalists were naïve and ineffectual. Ulster Unionists . . . well, let us be thankful for small mercies: Breaking ranks with Republican tradition, Coogan at least acknowledges the existence of the Ulstermen, though he shows no comprehension of their strong desire not to be ruled by people who, they know very well from historical experience, detest them. Thus we read that "the outcome of Republicanism striving to be free and Orangeism seeking to maintain its supremacy must inevitably be conflict." I have known many Orangemen, but I never knew one who wished for "supremacy" over anybody. Nor is it difficult to imagine just how "free" the Orangemen would have been in a Republic ruled by Connolly, Collins, Pearse, and de Valera.

1916: The Easter Rising comes with a particular argument. The argument is that a parallel can be made between the events of 1912–16 and those of 1998–2002, approximately as follows. The 1912 Home Rule Bill = the 1998 Good Friday Agreement; the Constitutionalists of 1912 = today's Sinn Féin; the 1916 putschists = Real IRA (the terrorist splinter group that committed the Omagh atrocity of August 1998, and with which Coogan seems to be on chummy terms). The underlying message here, delivered in the tones of sneering menace that Irish fascists have made their very own, is that unless those recalcitrant Unionists buckle under to Sinn Féin's demands in short order, nasty things will happen. In Coogan's own words: "The message is that those who do not learn from history really can be doomed to relive it." Or, as they say in Belfast: We know where you live.

Tim Pat Coogan bills himself as a

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"journalist and historian." Given that both those professions involve the accurate recording of facts, his claim to them ought to be prosecuted as false advertising. This book is riddled with errors, misprints, and omissions that no conscientious journalist or historian would ever allow to pass. To take a selection at random: "Lord Grey" did not declare anything in August 1914, as Sir Edward Grey was not made a viscount until July 1916. "*Mirabile dictu*, a box containing 1000 first preference votes for McGuiness was discovered." *Mirabile* indeed: Elections in Ireland, as in the rest of the U.K., were decided on a first-past-the-post system in 1917, with no preferences to mark on the ballot paper. "[James] Connolly was born in County Monaghan in 1870." Er, no: He was born in Edinburgh in 1868. Ireland contains no such place as "Loughall," nor Norway a "Christina," nor North America a "Fort Eerie." The photograph on page 28 "includes Arthur Griffith and John MacBride," says the caption; but there are six men in the photograph, and no indication which is which.

Possibly this steady rain of factual and typographical slovenliness is a device to distract us from Coogan's shaky grasp of English syntax. A sample: "Although numerically small, the generic title 'Sinn Fein' came to be applied to those who supported Irish independence." To be sure, eight letters is not numerically impressive, but why might that have been an obstacle?

Some of these bloopers are the more inexcusable because they have appeared in previous books by this author: "Loughall" is practically a Coogan trademark, a standing joke in Irish literary circles. If I were Coogan's publisher, I should be much more careful than this with his material. Two years ago, Dr. Ruth Dudley Edwards, a genuine historian of Ireland, received £25,000 in damages and a public apology from Random House, U.K., for libels against her in Coogan's book *Wherever Green Is Worn*. Ireland is blessed with many careful and literate chroniclers of her long, fascinating history. It is a pity that the name best known to the large American public in this context should be that of a propagandist for the politics of the ambush and the car bomb. **NR**

Newman's Own Church

GEORGE W. RUTLER

John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion, by Frank M. Turner (Yale, 724 pp., $35)

It is said, with mixed feelings, that of the writing of books on Newman there is no end. Few figures are as representative of the Victorian age's tectonic cultural shifts. Queen Victoria herself was no more a Victorian than Jesus was a Jesuit, but ask for a Victorian and Newman appears. As much as Gladstone, he was a force whose consecration to conservative principles proved to be more radically disruptive of social assumptions than many self-conscious revolutionaries.

Frank M. Turner, the John Hay Whitney Professor of History at Yale, is entitled to add another book onto the Newman pile by virtue of his broad acquaintance with the Evangelical movements that usually are given short shrift in Newman studies. Turner's beautiful writing bears the brush of one who has spent a long time with writers of a neo-Ciceronian age whose letters by comparison put our generation on the junk heap of Western literature. Among them, Newman was the best.

This study, which goes up to Newman's conversion, is a rare revival of profound cynicism toward Newman's project. Turner is as genuinely bewildered as any 19th-century Protestant that a man with brains could take Catholicism seriously. "Popery" is almost as fluidly condescending on Turner's lips as when spoken by a Victorian Evangelical. A sympathetic account of Protestant frustration with the sub-

Father Rutler, a Catholic priest in New York City, is the author most recently of *Brightest and Best: Stories of Hymns.*

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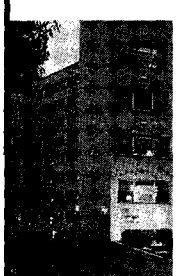

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tleties of the Tractarians, who moved from the old High Church theology straight into the arms of the Catholic Church, is helpful for its provocative animus, but a scholar so well read in the period should detect old biases speaking through himself. Turner is clearly annoyed that Newman's "self-generated transformation" and "characteristic narcissism" in his *Apologia* and other masterpieces turned him into an idol that even Lytton Strachey dared not completely tear down.

If Turner does not match Strachey's feline innuendo in trying to shrink "the young, angry, fiercely polemical Oxford Newman," his publisher tries hard. The book's publicity says Newman's conversion to Catholicism (or, rather, "passage to Rome") was very much a result of "family quarrels, thwarted university ambitions, the inability to control his followers, and his desire to live in a community of celibate males." The book's supremely ironical proposition is that Newman was, either by calculation or self-delusion, "perhaps the most enduring Victorian skeptic."

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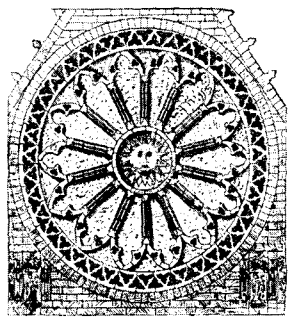
Turner adds to the cauldron of Newman's alleged neurosis, mendacity, and repressed maladjustment, an obsession with his sister Mary. He reads significance into Newman's constant association with churches and oratories named Mary. That would not seem to be remarkable to someone familiar with the Catholic world, but of that culture the magisterial Turner seems at times quaintly innocent. Newman is drawn as a disruptive and confused schismatic. Disruptive he certainly was, and Turner begrudgingly admits that he changed forever "the domestic expectations of his society and the devotional expectations of his church." But only from a prospect where fog in the English Channel isolates the Continent can conversion from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism be thought schismatic.



As Newman drew closer to Catholicism in the early 1840s, his tightening circle of friends was to Evangelical eyes a pantheon of quiet hysterics. "The single most consistent element in Newman's adult life was his sustained determination to dwell among other celibate males and outside the company of women. . . ." Newman was chagrined at Frederick Faber's maudlin Marian piety, and we are told this "may have been another way in which he protested that his love for his own sister Mary had not exceeded the boundaries of good taste and morality." Yet we are also told that Newman *shared* Faber's baroque piety because "it is possible that in his mind he entertained a sense of sin over some thought or fantasy related to his deceased sister." On the next page Turner ups the voltage: "Newman may have felt that in his escape from an English Church fallen into evangelical heresy he could also remove the beloved Mary from the turmoil and heresy of the Newman family and carry her to the safety of the monarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. There her virginity, which may have mystified and attracted him during her life . . . stood protected and transformed from an object of temptation into one of safe devotion." May have. May have. May have.

This counterweight to lush hagiography is a particularly good introduction to the "other" point of view of the Evangelicals. Turner seems seeped in its spirit himself, as when he astringently objects to the "all too abundant prurience and challenge to domesticity" in the Tractarians' *Lives of the Saints*. There are few bad guys among Newman's foes and few even normal ones among his friends. Charles Kingsley, whose imputation of dishonesty to Newman provoked the greatest autobiography in the English language, was merely "unfair." Turner dips into the bottom of the barrel to quote the yet-unconverted Henry Manning on the "want of truth" in Newman's crowd. Newman's two hostile (indeed, nearly mad) brothers, while acknowledged as peculiar, are cited as voices of reason.

Turner lacks an ear for the wretched polemics hurled at Newman. He also lacks facts—as when, for example, he says Newman's followers set themselves "foursquare against utility, the spirit of improvement, material civilization . . ." Some romantics in Newman's circle—Hurrell Froude comes to mind—were a little screwy, but Newman himself was interested in fossil theory, promoted invention, loved gadgets, and would probably have owned the first computer in Oxford.

What could have been a challenging exercise in revisionism becomes a curiosity when Turner joins the louche company of psychobiographers, with the awkwardness of a man in tweeds trying to sing rap music. Newman catechized the young because "he seems to have wanted the company of children." One sentence even provides double conjectures: "Ward, presumably as a result of his interpretation of private conversations, apparently thought . . ." Turner's masterly use of obscure archival sources cannot stifle the reader's wonderment at a footnote about a correspondence between Newman and Manning concerning the spiritual progress of a Victorian lady: "The possibly erotically charged metaphor of a blanket too small for the bed is taken from Chapter 28 of the book of the prophet Isaiah."

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If I may use the technique of supposition myself, Turner's palpable irritation that a Pope might eventually canonize Newman is probably worsened by his realization that no Pope will care about the warnings of the John Hay Whitney professor of history. If a corpse is sufficient evidence of a decline in health, the Church of England has proved to be what Newman thought it. Newman was persuaded that a church is more than a theory. Mere theories do not exact the sacrifices he required of himself; he said no one is a martyr for a conclusion. Cardinal Wiseman denounced "the arrogant pretensions of the Anglican High Churchmen" who "charge others with the mote of schism from a national church, seeing not the beam of schism from the universal Church, which fearfully presses on their own cause."

■

Newman lived the theological and moral virtues heroically.

■

Turner begins and ends with the unstated assumption that this centric view of Rome is eccentric. From the perspective of history, if not theology, he might have explained why he tends to this opinion. And as the bishop of Rome has been satisfied that Newman lived the theological and moral virtues heroically, and so for the moment is worthy at least of being called Venerable, Turner might have indicated some small evidence of this in the years before Newman embarked upon the second half of his soul's journey. Newman's spiritual model was the Counter Reformation "Apostle of Rome," St. Philip Neri. In humanism, humor, simplicity, and the gift for friendship they were a match. One could say that in a human accounting, Philip had his neuroses—but nowhere is it written that a neurotic cannot be a saint. Turner does not consider deeper psychology. He has done a fine lot of research on Newman's incomparable *Idea of a University*. There is little in this new book to explain how so inadequate a man as Turner's Newman could have produced those lectures. Genius was not enough. **NR**

Love Your Country

STANLEY KURTZ

I WENT looking for the war on MTV and couldn't find it. True, just after 9/11, MTV did join with the USO to put on a special called "For the Troops." And for some time afterward, the station played Kid Rock's single from that special (a song that had nothing to do with 9/11 *per se*). But so far as I can tell, Kid Rock is gone, and MTV is now convinced that the war is over.

On Country Music Television, on the other hand, the war is still omnipresent. A fan wins a chance to interview Reba McEntire and asks how 9/11 changed her life; countdown shows intersperse hits with shots of country-music stars entertaining soldiers; and the phrase "Love Your Country" has become a popular network tag line. Then there are the videos—too many to list—that revolve around patriotism and post–9/11 themes. Alan Jackson's "Where Were You (When the World Stopped Turning)" was a crossover hit that powered his album to the top of the national charts. Aaron Tippen's "Where the Stars and Stripes and the Eagle Fly" also topped the country charts and showed considerable crossover appeal. Toby Keith, Brooks & Dunn, Hank Williams Jr., Charlie Daniels, George Jones, and Montgomery Gentry have had hits with similar themes.

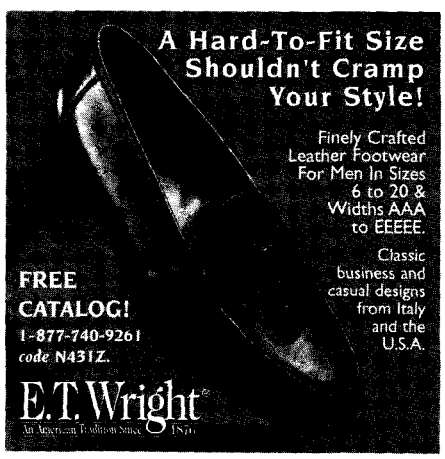
But it isn't just the war that is missing from MTV; most of real life is missing from its offerings. Turn on CMT and you'll see a song about how tough it is for a single father to pull in a living and raise his kids; a hilarious song about a guy who'd rather fish than spend time with his girlfriend; a song that says the hardest thing about a breakup is losing the friendship of your lover; a song about giving up the bottle for the deeper and simpler pleasures of just being with your family; a song that tells the story of the tragic death of a lighthouse keeper and his beloved; or a song about a guy who's determined not to rush the woman he loves until her heart is truly over her last romance.

Turn on MTV, on the other hand, and what you're likely to hear is a song about . . . well, actually, I don't think the videos on MTV are *about* anything at all. What, for example, is "Pass the Courvoisier" *about*? Comparing your gold chain to Mr. T's? Getting into a fistfight with a big mama? Beating up a bunch of Asian guys and taking away their women? Clearly, "My Neck, My Back (Lick It)" is about oral sex, and "Oops (Oh My)" is about masturbation, but to treat most MTV videos as though they actually had subject matter is to miss the point.

CMT videos are about actual adult lives. MTV videos, in contrast, are primal screams of anger, lust, and alienation. I don't mean to suggest that MTV's videos aren't *good*. If by "good" we mean ingenious and enthralling, then MTV's videos are plenty good. MTV's got creative genius to spare, but creative genius in the service of what?

System of a Down's "Toxicity" is a helluva good video, primal scream and all. But you don't need to be a cranky conservative social critic to know that something is wrong here. The rock group itself makes that very clear. While Martina McBride over on CMT is singing about how blessed she feels to have a wonderful family, System of a Down is singing about "the toxicity of our city." Now, of course, we'll be told that Martina McBride's "Blessed" is romantic pap, whereas "Toxicity" is edgy and more "realistic" about life. But I think they're *both* realistic: It would be silly to contend that love, faith-

Mr. Kurtz is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.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fulness, hope, and gratitude aren't real or important elements of life. But the interesting thing is that singing about the very real pleasures and passions of ordinary adult life—especially adult family life—seems impossibly unrealistic to so many today. Even though *Married . . . with Children* isn't actually any more "realistic" than *Leave It to Beaver*, somehow the crew down at MTV is too embarrassed to come anywhere within shouting distance of what country folk like to call "the sunny side of life."

I think that's because of all the stuff we cranky old conservative critics are always fussing about: breakdown of the family and whatnot. CMT knows all about those same problems, yet responds to them in a totally different way from MTV. On CMT you're likely to hear a song about a son's gratitude for his loving stepdad (Brad Paisley's "He Didn't Have to Be"), whereas on MTV you'll hear Box Car Racer singing about how they feel so angry, used, callous, and unfaithful that they wish they could start life over. Whatever's bugging Box Car Racer (a not-so-loving stepdad?), it's much too painful to sing about in any detail. Not much left to do but scream.

Punk anti-glamour glamour girl Pink manages to be unusually clear about all this in her extraordinary "Don't Let Me Get Me." Pink has been abandoned and exploited by the adults in her life ("Teachers dated me / My parents hated me") and hates herself as a result: "Don't want to be my friend no more / I wanna be somebody else . . . / Every day I fight a war against the mirror / Can't take the person staring back at me . . . / I'm my own worst enemy."

A hostess on VH1 (an offspring channel of MTV) singled out that very song as her favorite, because of its "positive" message about "overcoming adversity." There isn't actually much in Pink's song about overcoming adversity; it's mostly a tortured cry for help. By MTV/VH1 standards, that is apparently a net positive. Again, I'm not saying that "Don't Let Me Get Me" isn't a "great" song and video. On the contrary, it's striking, clever, and utterly infectious. But wouldn't our daughters be a lot better off with the Dixie Chicks than with Pink?

It's important to note that lots of young girls love the Dixie Chicks, and that country music has plenty of young fans as well as old. That means we can't explain the difference between CMT and MTV simply by pointing to the age of the viewers. It's true that MTV's audience is predominantly young, and that for many of them the pleasures of adulthood and mature family life, so central to CMT's videos, are yet to be achieved. But how is it that country music manages to attract fans of all ages? The mixing of generations in country music is embodied by the Grand Ole Opry, where the newest country stars mingle with oldsters who've never made a video.

■

Wouldn't our daughters be a lot better off with the Dixie Chicks than with Pink?

■

I think the difference between CMT's audience and MTV's is that between the mixed-generation living of small-town America, on the one hand, and the age-segregated (and, not coincidentally, alienated) world of college and big-city life, on the other. The Sixties separated out a distinctive youth culture from society as a whole, and that mode persists on MTV. By separating out youthfulness from everything else, we get something that is energetic, creative, sexy, aggressive, free of adult supervision, very immature, and very, very unhappy with itself. In other words, we get Pink.

Of course, the Dixie Chicks sing brilliantly about cutting family apron strings to go out and make it on your own ("Wide Open Spaces"), but the loving-awkward parting from their parents that the Dixie Chicks describe is a world away from Pink's agonized abandonment and isolation.

So what do you say about a bunch of videos that are imaginative, exciting, and addictive, yet ultimately empty; videos in which style is far more important than substance; videos in which life outside of a single person's anxiety, braggadocio, and sexual pleasure seems barely to exist? In "Rainy Dayz," Mary J. Blige sings what ought to be MTV's epitaph: "We're always livin' so crazy and sexy and cool / And we begin to love it / Watchin' all the heartache and pain of the world / And think nothing of it."

MTV's general obliviousness to the war mirrors its broader indifference to the outside world. This is why country music has stolen a march on MTV since 9/11. It has long been known that country music excels at love of family and country. But what are family and country? They are *reality* (a huge chunk of it, anyway), even if too many in America have been wont to treat them as embarrassing fictions instead. When the World Trade Center went down, it reminded us of a whole set of realities we'd been taking for granted: our loved ones, our prosperity, our safety, and the dependence of all of this upon our national will and strength. These are the kinds of realities upon which country music has always been built, and that's why country music has managed to capture our post–9/11 wonderment at the way in which the simple but fundamental pleasures of life can be taken from us without warning. (See Toby Keith's "My List," or Alan Jackson's "Where Were You.")

The latest ad for Nestlé chocolate bars contains a slogan that could be applied with perfect justice to the creative folks at MTV: "Why be plain, when you could be crunchy?" In contrast, I've always thought that the perfect motto for CMT could be found in the title of a country song by Chad Brock: "Ordinary Life." The song is about a man who feels trapped in the ordinariness of his life—mowing the lawn, going to church, paying the bills, minding the kids—until he leaves his family and discovers that all he wants is to get that ordinary life back. On September 11, 2001, we all learned the words and music to that song. Some would call "Ordinary Life" pap. I call it reality.

War is now part of that reality. Charlie Daniels thinks that the winds of war are blowing, and that we're headed for a bloody conflict the end of which is difficult to discern; Toby Keith has promised to put an American boot up Osama's and Saddam's backsides. Once again, it seems to me that the country musicians have grasped the fundamental truth of the moment; they have offered our young people a way to harness their sexual longings and their strident passions to something higher than themselves—the defense of our country and our freedom. Their counterparts at MTV have yet to pass that same reality test. **NR**

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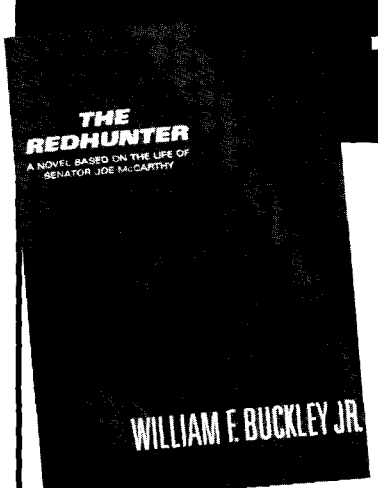

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Bush at the U.N.: Thoughts Said and U.N.Said

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 13

THE habit of presidents and popes, when they address the United Nations, is to sound unctuous and vapid. This time around circumstances made it impossible to come and go having deposited nothing of substance. No prosecuting attorney could have been more thorough in reciting the violations of Iraq, not merely of ideals in general, but of specific undertakings after its defeat in the Gulf War.

Mr. Bush was unsparing of detail. Security Council members were presumably embarrassed by his recitation of the Council's indolence. Somebody was doing things right, namely the people who were recording the acts of lawlessness. Formal responsibility is of course that of the United Nations. The great precedent, mentioned by Mr. Bush early in his speech, is the League of Nations, which, once again, was not so blind as to fail to notice transgressions against the code of the League. The question became: What then? If a convict is placed on parole and instances of violation of parole mount, attention inevitably turns to the enforcing arm. There is, in the last analysis, nobody around to enforce U.N. decisions of a nonclerical character other than the United States. If the session in New York on Thursday had had parliamentary form, one would not have been surprised to hear someone shoot up from across the aisle to say: Mr. President, what was the United States government doing during this period of contumacy that you're talking about?

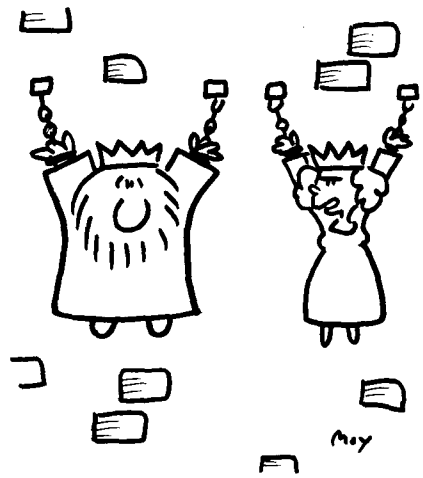
In his speech to the U.N. last November, President Bush acknowledged the early mobilization of the U.N. after the Gulf War. It was gratifying that a mere two weeks after September 11, 2001, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1373, which held up specific obligations on U.N. member states. Member states were to crack down on terrorist financing, share intelligence with those who coordinate law enforcement, deny sanctuary or safe haven to terrorists or their accomplices. Some such pressures were placed on Iraq, but focus on Saddam Hussein dissipated, and diplomatic and commercial talk turned rather to the restoration of normalcy and the end of sanctions, than to hardening such sanctions and enforcing U.N. resolutions.

In his November speech, Mr. Bush had said, "These same terrorists are searching for weapons of mass destruction, the tools to turn their hatred into holocaust. They can be expected to use chemical, biological and nuclear weapons the moment they are capable of doing so."

The U.S. position is of course that Saddam Hussein *has* chemical and biological weapons. Not prospectively, but in hand. How do we explain that Saddam has not in fact used them?

The point is important, because those who resist the imperatives of the Bush-Cheney analysis do so by insisting that there is time to mediate. What Mr. Bush did was to give out a six-point ultimatum, the things Saddam needs to do to comply with the demands of peace and justice. Included was everything short of baptizing himself as a Christian. At the end of the list, General Bush unsheathed his sword: "The Security Council resolutions will be enforced. The just demands of peace and security will be met, *or action will be unavoidable.*"

We will see. During the speech, the camera turned from time to time to the Iraqi ambassador to the U.N. His expression was stony. But sitting behind him a middle-aged aide, who might have been Saddam's brother, chewed gum. Everybody in the U.N. had chewed gum for years, including the U.S. delegation. But no longer, Mr. Bush has said.



"Well, so much for that *exit strategy."*

Toward the Disappearance of Christ

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 17

ATTENTION is drawn in the *New York Times* to a little-noticed document issued on August 12 in Washington by a group of American rabbis and Roman Catholic bishops. It is called "Reflections on Covenant and Mission" and argues the astonishing proposition that Catholics should not try to convert Jews. The Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs summarizes, "The Catholic Church has come to recognize that its mission of preparing for the coming of the kingdom of God is one that is shared with the Jewish people," inasmuch as the Jewish people "also abide in covenant with God." The *New York Times*'s reporter Daniel Wakin aptly summarized the meaning of the "Reflections": "Put another way, your road to salvation is as good as mine."

There are historical and sociological factors which figure in the work of the Bishops' Committee. The first, the nightmare of the Holocaust. The Church has never assumed responsibility for it, no more than it assumes responsibility for Hitler. But the long tenure of Pope John Paul II is marked by dramatic efforts to disown, as indeed un-Christian, that much of Church history that tolerated and encouraged what we would now call anti-Semitism, considered, back then, evangelical ardor. The Pope not only "apologized" for those heavy footprints in Christian history, he sought out opportunities to dramatize a kind of theological consanguinity between Christians and Jews, traveling to Jerusalem, praying in a synagogue, and shedding symbolic tears at the Wailing Wall.

But the bishops who assented to the "Reflections" have gone a step further. Catholic recognition of Judaism's theological legitimacy is not new. This is one step further. Mr. Wakin quotes the Rev. Jerry Blaszczak, chaplain of Fordham University, to the effect that the Church has generally stopped trying to convert

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Jews as a result of a movement that began with the Second Vatican Council nearly 40 years ago, which, in Mr. Wakin's words, "affirmed the closeness of the two religions."

Immediate opposition to this holistic view of Christian/Jewish relations was registered by Jim Sibley, coordinator of Jewish Ministries for the Southern Baptist Convention. "There can be no more extreme form of anti-Semitism," he said, than to deny Jews access to evangelization. A Catholic was finally found, in the *Times* story, to back off from the new exhortation to deny Christian concern for Jews. The Rev. John Echert, who teaches scripture at St. Thomas Seminary in St. Paul, is said, in the *Times* paraphrase, to have called the document "an embarrassment that lacks teaching authority."

It is one thing to acknowledge the historical role of Judaism and to project its eternal theological claims. The "Reflections" quote John Paul (in 1982) as urging Christians to remember "how the permanence of Israel is here accompanied by a continuous spiritual fecundity, in the rabbinical period, in the Middle Ages and in modern times, taking its start from a patrimony which we long shared."

The survival of Israel is accepted as divine testimony to the special sanction of God. But the ecumenicists brush up against contradiction in interpreting the singularity of Judaism's covenant as protecting it from the basic claims of Christianity. St. Paul (Romans 10:1–4) used language that means either nothing at all, in which case nor does any Biblical language, or else something beyond the reach of bishops to ignore, let alone undo. "For they [His fellow Jews] being ignorant of God's righteousness," wrote Paul, "and seeking to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted to the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone who believes."

So why should it offend if Christians continue to pray for "the conversion" of the Jews? Are we supposed also to deplore the solicitude of those Christians who converted Jean-Marie Lustiger, who is now Cardinal Archbishop of Paris? Immediately after the Second World War, the Chief Rabbi of Rome converted to Christianity. Do we assume that to have been a thoughtless act? On the local scene, Lewis Lehrman ran for governor of New York in 1982 and, soon after, joined the Catholic Church and abandoned politics, perhaps because there is gnashing of teeth when prominent public figures cross the theological aisle. An aisle which the "Reflections" people are suggesting doesn't really exist.

The bishops who suggest that it is understandable for Christians to proceed as if Christ had never happened are engaged in emasculating the Faith. And to say to a Jew that Christians are unconcerned about him is, as suggested by Mr. Sibley, less an injunction to acknowledge the covenant of Israel, than an act of condescension and indifference.

Death Dances

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 20

THEY teach you at the war colleges and cognate places of learning that soldiers and diplomats of experience always need to prepare contingency plans. This is wonderfully validated by the Iraq situation. The mind ponders the responses the White House is assumed to have considered. As regards the United Nations, President Bush could have proceeded in several ways.

1. I wish to inform you, honorable members of the Security Council, that as president of the United States I am invoking that clause in the U.N. Charter that authorizes member states to act in their own defense. It is our judgment that the government of Iraq is complicit in a war of terror against the United States. Under the circumstances, you will see the United States responding according to its own lights.

Or: 2. The government of Iraq has defied 16 U.N. resolutions and it is the U.N.'s responsibility to specify what is to be done to enforce the word of the U.N. in Iraq.

Or: 3. We remind the Security Council of the continuing defiance of Iraq and hope that renewed demands on the government of Iraq will be more effective.

The U.N. has not "acted," but the diplomatic community was sufficiently roused by Mr. Bush's talk to acknowledge that something would need to be done. It was thought a fine diplomatic move by the president to approach the U.N. in the first place. His doing so suggested due process in pre-military moves leading to possible confrontation. What we do not know at this moment is what will happen if the U.N. temporizes.

Probably it will do so, because there are enough parties leaning against it, pressing this or that nuance in the gestating resolution. On Sunday the third most powerful economy in the world will rename as chancellor Mr. Schroeder, who has placed his bets on the likelihood that the world will turn away from any offensive marshaled by the U.S. He has said, just days before the national election, that he will not assist in any military venture against Iraq *irrespective* of what the U.N. does. Mr. Schroeder is one voice, at the far end of appeasement. But there are others, and some of them, like the Pope's, argue for non-military movement as a matter of principle.

What is the nature of an ultimatum that might be directed at Saddam Hussein? Two days after Schroeder's grandfather's generation marched into Poland, the government of Great Britain, as it had promised to do, simply declared war against Germany, even though it was all but incapable of counter-aggressive action until some years later.

But that pattern can't inform our own situation. Britain couldn't do very much to Germany in September 1939, save enunciate the war. We, by contrast, could eliminate Baghdad tomorrow.

But we don't want to do that, though we very much want to be left free to devise our own approaches with the implicit sanction of the U.N. Question: What do we do if the Security Council votes to permit Iraq another 100, or 500, days to make good its offer to open up its secrets?

That is the contingency for which no preparation appears to have been made. All that we have done, in Washington, is to denounce Iraq's offer as one more installment in the ruses with which it has led us by the nose for ten years.

Now the formulation of the right answer here needs of course to take Congress into account. To date, Democratic leaders have made it plain that they will approve war-like action by the commander in chief. But a movement to suspend such action until Iraqi bona fides are once more tested can mount quickly. Democratic leaders can, without appearing disloyal, importune the president to give Hussein one more chance.

All of this adds up, in my own conjecture, to the likelihood of a very quick strike, of some kind or another. Decisive enough to make moot further diplomatic wrangling. But of limited military meaning, because we don't want to use our ultimate silencer.

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■ WHAT'S NEXT? ■

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

As a longstanding admirer of Florence King, who retired from this space last issue, I tread here with utmost deference, and considerable apprehension. Also, with a collection of uncertainties.

To begin with: What shall we call this page now? Flo made it The Misanthrope's Corner. That won't do. We are a gregarious crowd here at NR, certainly not well enough supplied with misanthropes to offer misanthropy in every issue. In any case, no one could hope to match Flo in this area. She it was who scorned as mere amateurs people who offered, in evidence of their misanthropy, the fact that they had removed the back seats of their cars. Our Flo declared proudly that she generally removed *the front passenger seat*, too.

And then, what kind of material is suitable to be put here? In search of inspiration, I leafed through the stacks of periodicals silting up my office. How do other magazines fill their back pages, other than with ads, job ads, or "personals"? Let's see.

The Economist. Here you also have to ignore three pages of "Economic and financial indicators" that only Larry Kudlow could love. Short-term interest rates in Poland? 8.15 percent. Zzzzzz. The last actually readable thing in *The Economist* is always a full-page obituary, usually of someone whose interesting-to-famous quotient is extraordinarily high. They recorded the passing of, for example, Kenneth Hale, an MIT researcher in linguistics who could converse in about 50 languages. ("He apologized to the Dutch for taking a whole week to master their somewhat complex language.")

New York Review of Books. Letters—frequently the best thing in the magazine, with highly entertaining dust-ups between *NYRB* contributors and people who feel slighted or misrepresented by something they read. In the current issue, Garry Wills squares off with various aggrieved readers of his piece on "Priests and Boys." Better than *Celebrity Boxing*.

The New Yorker. Roz Chast's comic strip. "Relationship humor," very Manhattan-neurotic—smile-funny, rather than laugh-funny.

The New Criterion. Usually, nothing; the magazine just stops. Once in a while, though, *TNC* deigns to publish a reader letter. The May 2001 issue, for instance, closes with an exquisitely collegial exchange between Adam Sisman, author of *Boswell's Presumptuous Task* (an account of how James Boswell came to write his *Life of Johnson*), and the reviewer to whom *TNC* had assigned Sisman's book, one John Derbyshire.

America's 1st Freedom (the main NRA publication). A column called—what else?—"Parting Shot."

Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society. Table of Contents. This is the only periodical I know that puts its table of contents at the back. Mathematicians are strange, subtle people.

■

On the whole, I think Flo set us on the right path.

■

Literary Review. The poetry competition. To qualify for consideration, your poem must rhyme, scan, and make sense. Given the state of poetry today, I'd happily settle for any two out of the three, but I suppose the magazine knows what it's doing. The current issue's competition asks for poems about feet—a subject on which, remark the editors, "poets through the ages have been mysteriously silent."

The Spectator. A wonderful mish-mash of inconsequential tidbits, including another competition. Clearly, the custom of setting a competition at the back of a political-cum-literary journal is still alive and well in the U.K. The classic instance of this tiny genre was the old *New Statesman* competition, some of whose entries have passed into the general stock of knowledge of all educated English people. There was the one asking for misleading advice to foreigners, for example: "Try the famous echo in the British Museum reading room." Then there were the "near miss" verses, much loved by English schoolboys: "As I was going past St. Paul's / A lady grabbed me by the elbow . . . " *The New Statesman* has been in a long decline, and it has been years since I met anyone who read it, but *The Spectator* has picked up the torch, with competitions asking for anagrams ("Francis Albert Sinatra—Banal art can stir fires"), clerihews ("Is Michael Jackson / Anglo-Saxon? / It would be easier to tell / If he didn't always look so unwell"), erotic restaurant reviews ("One was tempted to use one's finger to tease out and fondle the tender morsels of warm, pink meat . . . "), imaginary extracts from Hitler's personal mail ("Dear Führer, I have recently, as a patriotic gesture, inscribed the words 'Strength Through Joy' on my gate. Unfortunately this has coincided with an infestation of rabbits . . . "), and the like. Current issue: "Supply a letter written home by a bewildered American visitor who is spending a weekend in the house of an eccentric British aristocrat."

The Weekly Standard. "The Parody." Funnier than Roz Chast, but not as funny as those British competitions. The current issue parodizes Norman Mailer—a turkey shoot.

Human Events. Letters. "God bless Ann Coulter for exposing, once again, the hypocrisy of the Left . . . "

None of this is very helpful. I don't think Americans have the taste, or probably the time, for literary competitions. Conservatism being a healthful and life-extending attitude, conservatives do not die sufficiently often to justify a regular obituary page. Placement of our Letters columns and Table of Contents are well settled; and comedy—beyond the involuntary sort offered up to us daily by the passing caravan—is already in the capable hands of Rob Long.

On the whole, I think Flo set us on the right path. Our coda shall continue to be a reflective essay on life at large, not particularly topical or political, very often personal or biographical, displaying the conservative sensibility at its loftiest and most percipient—cold-eyed and unillusioned. **NR**

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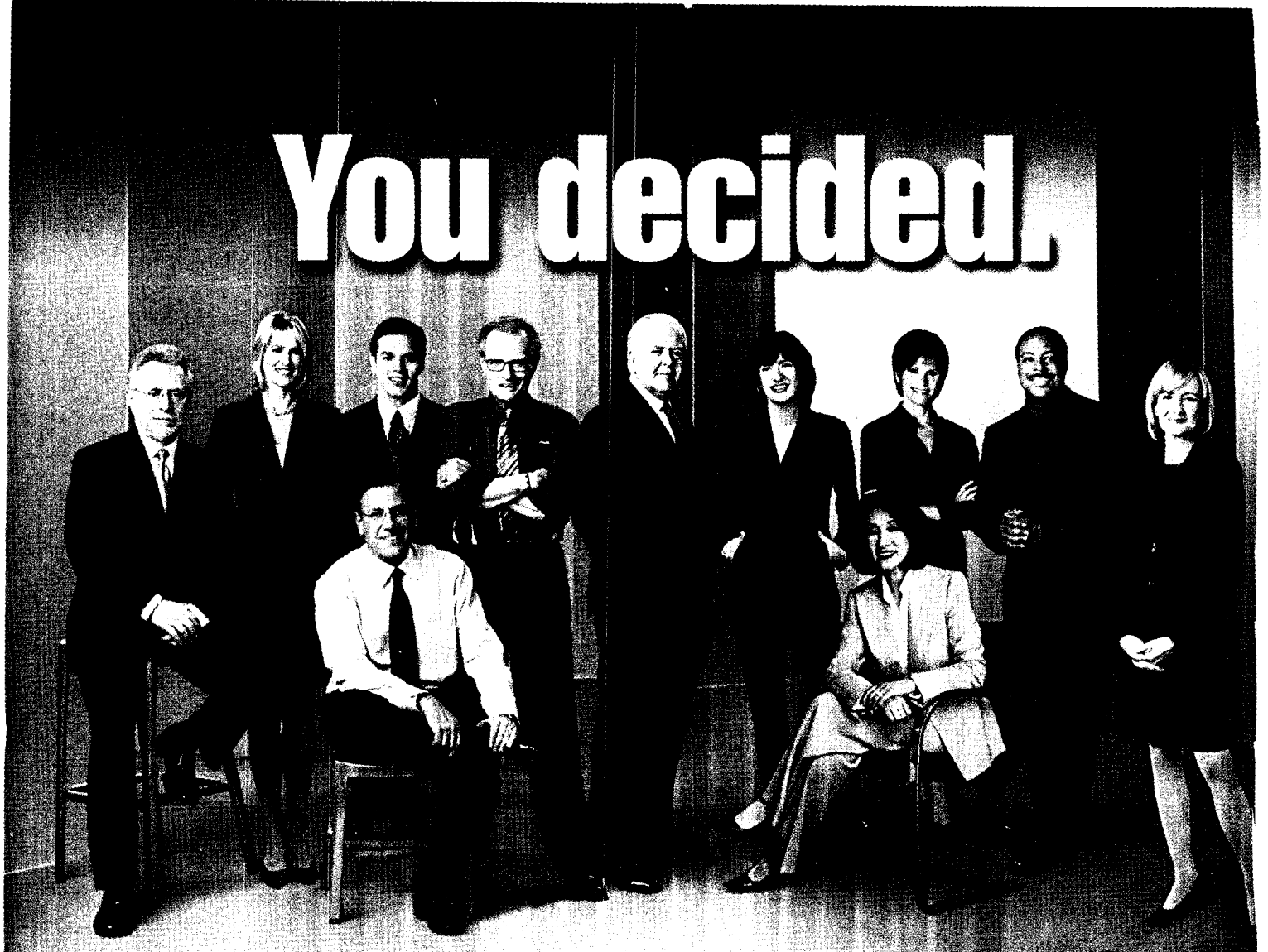

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